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CHIEF EDITOR

H. V. TRIVEDI, M. A., D. LITT.,
Indore (M.P.)

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THE
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WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN ANCIENT INDIA

(From earliest times up to circa 3rd cent. A. D.)

BALRAM SRIVASTAVA

Weights have a long history—a history older than money. Excavations at the Indus sites have disclosed various kinds of weights which were used in ancient India during the 3rd millenium B.C. Though the origin of Indian weight system was independent, yet their relationship with Mesopotamian and Egyptian weight systems is within the range of probability. From the point of view of accuracy, the significance of the Indus weights is remarkable and the margin of error in this weight system seems to be very narrow.[1] Vedic literature undoubtedly suggests the existence of a system of weights, though their use and significance are not properly described.[2] *Vaśishṭha Dharmasūtra* describes weights as essential objects of household effects and their accuracy was to be maintained by the kings.[3] Falsification of weights and measures was recognised as a cognizable offence. Vaśishṭha, Manu, Kauṭilya and Yājñavalkya enjoined upon the State to take particular pains for guarding the accuracy of weights and measures against criminal attempts at their falsification. Special officers like *Pautavadhyksha* and *Sansthādhyksha* were appointed by the Mauryan Government to examine and regulate weights and measures periodically, after every four to six months.[4] References to cheating through false weights and measures are seen in the *Sāmaññaphala sutta*[5] and in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.*[6] Āpastamba, Buddha and Nāgasena all have condemned one who cheated others by using false weights and balances.[7]

Indus weights were made of different kinds of stones such "chert, limestone, gneiss, steatite, slate, chalcedony, a black and white schist."[8] The practise of using stone weights continued during the time of the Mauryas. Kauṭilya recommends that weights should be made of "iron or stone (of Māgadha and

1. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 61.
2. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 516 ; II, p. 43.
3. XIX, 23 (S. B. E.).
4. *Vaś. DhS.*, XIX, 23 ; *Manu.*, VIII, 403 ; *Artha.*, II, 19. 51 ; *Yājña. Sm.*, II, 240.
5. *Dīgh Nikāya* (P. T. S.), I, pp. 19, 64.
6. II, 6. 19 (S. B. E.).
7. *Āp. DhS.*, II, 6. 19 ; *Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p. 5 ; *Milindapañho* (S. B. E.), II, p. 121.
8. *The Indus Civilization*, p. 61.

Mekala) or of any substance which would neither contract when wet nor expand under the influence of heat."[1]

Probably the weights were manufactured under State control and they were sold in the shops. Kauṭilya presents a price list of different kinds of weights.[2] Regarding the manufacture of cubic measures, Kauṭilya says that they should be made "of dry and strong wood so that when filled with grains, the conically heaped up portion of the grains standing on the measures is equal to one fourth of the quantity of the grains (so measured) ; or the measures may also be so made that a quantity equal to the heaped up portion can be contained within the measure."[3]

But though every care was taken to maintain the accuracy of weights, there was always a probability of some error in measurement. Perhaps to guard against this, there was a practice to add some handful of grains to the measured quantity. Adding a handful of grains to the measured amount was called *Hastapūraṇa.*[4] "With regard to the measurement of wine, flowers, fruits, bran, charcoal and slaked lime, twice the quantity of the heaped up portion (i. e. one fourth of the measured quantity was to be given in excess."[5] Sometimes this difference (*tulāmānāntara*) was taken by the State.[6]

In cubical measurement, the margin of error has been indicated by Kauṭilya as follows :[7]

In one *Parimāṇa* or *Droṇa*	—½ *Pala.*
In one *Tulā*	—1 *Karsha.*
In one *Aḍhaka*	—½ *Karsha.*

On principle, the difference upto the margin stated above was not considered a crime. The punishable margin of error was a little higher. It was, in the case of *Parimāṇi Droṇa,* 2 *Palas* ; in case of *Tulā,* 2 *Karshas* and in case of *Aḍhaka,* 1 *Karsha.*[8]

The weights of the Indus Culture "fall into a well defined system unlike any other in the ancient world."[9] The system used was binary in case of the smaller weights and decimal in the case of larger ones, the succession being in the ratios 1, 2 ×

1. *Artha.*, II, 19. 11.
2. Ibid., II, 19. 49-50.
3. Ibid., II, 19. 40-41.
4. Ibid., II, 19. 15-11.
5. Ibid., II, 19. 11.
6. Ibid., II, 15. 11.
7. Ibid., IV, 2. 9.
8. *Artha.*, IV, 2. 11.
9. *The Indus Civilization*, p. 61.

8, 4, 16, 32, 64, 160, 200, 320, 640, 1600, 3200, 6400, 8000, 128000, and that the unit weight had the calculated values of 0.8565 gramme.[1] The ratio which was maintained by the Indus trader was traditionally adopted in the later period to some extent and the number 16 became deep-rooted not only in the numismatic ratios[2] but in metaphysics also. In the case of decimal system of weights, the fractional ratios were based on three.[3]

It is, however, strange that though the ratio of the Indus weight system influenced to some extent the monetary system of ancient India, its influence on post-Harappan weight system is difficult to recognise.[4] In Vedic times, *Kṛishṇala* and *Manā* were the two denominations of weights.[5] The relationship of Vedic *Manā* with *Kṛishṇala* is difficult to determine. The ratio of weights of post-Vedic literature can be explained as follows :

8 *Trisreṇus*	=	1 *Likshā*.
3 *Likshās*	=	1 *Rāja Sarśapa*.
4 *Rāja Sarśapas*	=	1 *Gaura Sarśapa*.
2 *Gaura Sarśapas*	=	1 *Yava Madhya*.
5 *Yavas*	=	1 *Kṛishṇala*

Obviously *Trisreṇu, Likshā* are the pedantic and purposeless denominations of weights. The significance of *Rāja Sarśapa, Gaura Sarśapa* and *Yava* was also very limited. For all practical purposes, the fundamental unit of weight was perhaps the *Kṛishṇala*. *Rattikā* and *Guñjā* were perhaps equal in weight and may be considered as similar to *Kṛishṇala* in weight. *Rattikā* held such a prominent place in the system of weight of ancient India that later Sanskrit writers named it as *tulabīja*.

It is interesting to note that though *Kṛishṇala* in the weight scheme of Manu and Yājñavalkya was accepted for weighing gold as well as silver, their value and weight differed considerably. Thus for gold, the scheme of weight according to Manu and Yājñavalkya was as follows :[6]

5 *Kṛishṇalas*	=	1 *Gold Māsha* (*Suvarṇa Māsha*).
16 *Māshas*	=	1 *Suvarṇa*
4 *Suvarṇas*	=	1 *Pala*.

1. E. Mackey, *Early Indus Civilization*, p. 103.
2. Allen, *CAI*, pl. CLIX.
3. *The Indus Civilization*, p. 61
4. A large number of terracotta weights have been unearthed from various historic sites of Northern India like Kauśāmbī, Rājaghāṭa. But they do not seem to follow any definite ratio.
5. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 185 ; II, p. 505.
6. *Manu.*, VIII, 134.

This scheme is also followed by Yājñavalkya.[1] But Manu further includes *Pala* and *Dhāraṇa* in scheme of gold weights. According to him 10 *Palas* equated 1 *Dhāraṇa*.[2] The weight of silver denominations, however, was different than the scheme of gold. According to Manu and Yājñavalkya :

2 *Krishṇalas* = 1 *Raupya Māsha*.
16 *Raupya Māshas* = 1 *Dhāraṇa* (according to Yājñavalkya).[3]
16 *Raupya Māshas* = 1 *Purāṇa* (according to Manu).[4]

Further, Yājñavalkya equates 10 *Dhāraṇas* with 1 *Pala*.[5]

One notable difference between the systems of Manu and Yājñavalkya is that *Pala* is a heavier denomination in silver than it is in gold. Kauṭilya, though like Manu and Yājñavalkya has two separate systems of weight for weighing gold and silver, his scheme differs considerably from them. In his scheme for gold measurement,[6] the lowest unit was *Dhānyamāsha* (seeds of rice are *māsha*) which may be taken as equal to 1½ *Yavas*. Thus the three *Yavas* of Manu and Yājñavalkya or 2 *Dhānyamāṣhas* of Kauṭilya constituted 1 *Guñjā* of Kauṭilya or 1 *Krishṇala* of Manu and Yājñavalkya.[7] Therefore :

5 *Guñjās* (Kauṭīlya) or 5 *Krishṇalas* (Manu & Yājñvalkya)or
10 *Dhānyamāshas* = 1 *Suvarṇa Māsha*.
16 *Suvarṇa Māshas* = 1 *Suvarṇa* or 1 *Karsha*.
4 *Karshas* or 4 *Suvarṇas* = 1 *Pala*.

For weighing silver, weights were to be ratioed as :[8]

88 *Gaur Sarśapas* = 1 Silver *Māsha*
16 Silver *Māshas* or 29 *Sabya* seeds = 1 *Dhāraṇa*.

A comparison of above tables shows that while Kauṭilya's system of weight measurement of gold corresponds with those of Manu and Yājñavalkya, there was considerable difference in the system of weights for silver. In Manu and Yājñavalkya, 1 *Raupya māsha* constituted 12 *Gaura Sarśapas*, while 1 *Raupya Māsha* of Kauṭilya constituted 88 *Gaura Sarśapas*. But though the weight of *Raupya Māsha* of Kauṭilya was heavier than the *Raupya Māsha* of Yājñavalkya, its ratio with *Dhāraṇa* was the same i.e. 16 *Raupya Māshas* = 1 *Dhāraṇa*.

Apart from this scheme of weights of gold and silver,

1. *Yājña. Sm.*, I, 363-64.
2. *Manu.*, VIII, 136.
3. *Yājña. Sm.*, I, 364.
4. *Manu.*, VIII, 136.
5. *Yājña. Sm.*, I, 365.
6. *Artha.*, II, 19. 2.
7. *Manu.*, VIII, 134; *Yājña. Sm.*, I. 363.
8. Ibid., II, 19. 5.

Kautilya has recommended to make the weights of *Māsha*, *Suvarṇa*, and *Dhāraṇa*, in the following series :

> ½ *Māsha*, 1 *Māsha*, 2 *Māshas*, 4 *Māshas*, 1 *Suvarṇa*, 2 *Suvarṇas*, 4 *Suvarṇas*, 8 *Suvarṇas*, 10 *Suvarṇas* 12 *Suvarṇas*, 30 *Suvarṇas*, 40 *Suvarṇas* and 100 *Suvarṇas*.[1]

Similar series of weights was recommended for *Dhāraṇa* also.[2]

For diamond, the lowest unit of weight was rice (*tandula*) and the heaviest unit was *dhāraṇa* known as *Vaiduryadhāraṇa*. 20 grains of rice constituted 1 *Vaiduryadhāraṇa*.[3]

Though from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* we infer that there were balances for heavy weights also,[4] yet our information about heavy weights is very meagre. Perhaps for measuring grains and liquids there were measuring pots. That is why we see all law-givers totally neglecting the consideration of heavy weights and Kauṭilya, after giving the scheme of heavy weights, describes the method of making the cubic measure and not the system of heavy weights. It is quite possible that, just as it is today, though the weights were fundamental units, cubic measures were made to weigh grains etc. according to the standard of weights, for the sake of convenience.

From various sources, the sequence of heavy weights for cubic measures may be understood as follows :

4 *Palas* or 16 *Karshas*		= 1 *Kuḍava* or 1 *Anjali*.[5]
4 *Kuḍavas*	...	= 1 *Prastha*.[6]
4 *Prasthas*	...	= 1 *Aḍhaka*.[7]
4 *Aḍhakas*	...	= 1 *Droṇa*.

But though the above scheme of weight is accepted by Charaka and Kauṭilya, there is considerable difference between them regarding *Droṇa*. In *Arthaśāstra*, there are as many as four types of *Droṇas* (*Ayāmī*, *Vyāvahārika*, *Bhājanī*, and *Antaḥpurabhājanī*).[8] Of these, the first type of *Droṇa* (*Āyāmī*) was

1. *Artha.*, II, 19.
2. Ibid., II, 19.
3. Ibid., II, 19.
4. Ibid., II, 19.12-17.
5. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 4. 102. *Kuḍava* also occurs in *Ashṭādhyāyī*, *Charaka Saṁhitā*, *Kalpasthāna*, XII, 94.
6. *Artha.*, II, 19, but not in Pāṇini. Dr. V. S. Agrawala however equates *Prastha* with *Kulija* of *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 1. 55. But it is his guess – *Pāṇinikālīna Bhārata*, p. 244.
7. *Artha.*, II. 19 ; *Charaka Sam.*, XII. 94 ; *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V, 1. 53.
8. *Artha.*, II. 19. 32-35.

the standard one (of 200 *Palas*) of Mauryan time.[1] But by the time of Charaka, the weight of *Droṇa* went up to 256 *Palas*.[2] This increase surely would have affected the other weight denominations. Some more weights, heavier than *Droṇa*, were also prevalent in ancient India. Their ratio was however not binary as was in the case of *Kuḍava*, *Prastha*, *Aḍhaka* and *Droṇa*. From Charaka and Kauṭilya we know that heavier weights than *Droṇa* were generally calculated on the basis of *Droṇa*. Now taking the weight of standard *Droṇa* as 200 *Palas*,[3] we may present the account of heavier weights as follows :

16 *Droṇas* = 1 *Khārī*.[4]
20 *Droṇas* = 1 *Kumbha*.[5]
10 *Droṇas* = 1 *Bhāra*.[6]
20 *Droṇas* = 1 *Vāha*.[7]

For lineal measurements, the width of a finger (*Aṅgula*) was the most natural and primary unit.[8] In *Jātakas*, *Ashṭādhyāyī* and *Arthaśāstra*, we get the details of lineal measurement. Besides *Aṅgula*, there were *Vitasti*[9] or *Ḍisti*[10] and *Hasta*[11] or *Kishuka*[12] as the denominations of lineal measurements. Their ratio is given as follows:

12 *Aṅgulas* = 1 *Vitasti* or *Ḍisti*.
2 *Vitastis* or 2 *Ḍistis* = 1 *Hasta*.
32 *Aṅgulas* or 2 *Vitastis* = 1 *Kishuka*.

1. *Pāṇinikālīna Bhārata*, pp. 244-45.
2. Ibid., p. 244.
3. The weights of other types of *Droṇas* were like this—*vyāvahārika* of 87½ *palas*, *Bhājanī* of 175 *palas* and *antaḥpurabhājanī* of 162 *palas*—*Artha.*, II. 19.33-35. Due to this difference in the weight of *Droṇa*, their lower denomination like *āḍhaka*, *prastha*, *kuḍava* were also not similar.
4. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 1. 33; *Artha.*, II. 9. 37 ; *Mahābhashya*, V. 2. 73.
5. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, VI. 2. 120 ; *Artha.*, II. 19. 38.
6. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, VI. 2. 38 ; III. 1. 119 ; *Artha.*, II, 19. 39.
7. Lower than *aṅgula* were some units like *paramaṇu*, *likshā*, *yava-madhya*, *yava*—*Artha.*, II. 20. 2-7.
8. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 341 ; *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 4. 86 ; *Artha.*, II, 20. 6.
9. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 339 ; *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 2. 31.
10. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 255.
11. *Artha.*, II. 20. 13.
12. *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini, V. 1. 157.

WEIGHT STANDARD OF THE COINS OF EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

LALLANJI GOPAL

The coins of the early medieval period afford a poor substitute for the coins of the earlier period even in respect of their weights. Now the coins follow a definitely lighter weight standard. Whereas in the earlier period the gold coins weighed 120 grains and tended to approximate to 146 grains, those of our period generally weigh in the neighbourhood of 60 grains. A similar depreciation of weight can be noticed in the case of silver and copper coins also.

This is not to imply that the coins of this period had no weight-scheme to follow. A careful analysis reveals that they were made to approximate to some regular and definite weight standard. We can discern two parallel systems in these coins. Most of the coins seem to be based on the standard of the Greek drachma weighing 67.5 grains. It appears that not only the silver coins but also the gold and copper coins of most of the dynasties of our period followed the weight standard of the drachma. Another widely prevalent weight scheme appears to have followed the weight prescribed for the traditional denomination *purāṇa* which weighed 32 *rattīs* or 58.56 grains.

According to Cunningham[1] the silver coins of the Indo-Sassanian type generally weigh upwards of 60 grains. In the coins illustrated by him we find a typical Indo-Sassanian piece of silver weighing 65 grains[2], whereas a similar copper piece weighs 66 grains.[3] Bidyabinod[4] gives 41.3 grains as the minimum and 61.7 grains as maximum of these coins. The coins of the Piplaj hoard made of impure silver considerably alloyed with copper and lead have 61 grains as their average weight.[5] The weight of silver pieces catalogued by Smith[6] under the north-western type ranges between 52.6 and 64 grains, mostly approximating to 63 and 58 grains, and pieces less than 56 grains are few in number. The flat pieces of *gadhaiyā* coins catalogued by him weigh between 61 and 64.2 grains whereas the thick transitional pièces are between 59.7 and 63.8. Thick

1. *CMI*, pp. 47 f.
2. Ibid., p. 53, no. 7.
3. Ibid., no. 8.
4. *Supp. Cat. Ind. Museum*, I, p. 59.
5. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 98, 100.
6. *CCIM*, I, pp. 237-39.

dummy pieces of silver in the *gadhaiyā* variety appear to have a tendency towards over-weight between 62.3 and 74.5 grains, but the copper pieces weigh between 52.2 and 65 grains.[1] Among the *gadhaiyā* pieces with the legend *Oṁkāra* noticed by H. V. Trivedi the silver ones vary in weight between 61 and 65 grains, whereas the two copper coins weigh 60 and 45 grains.[2] The silver pieces with the legend *Śrī Vi* or *Śrī Vigra* catalogued by Smith as forming the eastern or Magadha type are found to weigh between 52.7 and 60 grains.[3] But among the coins of this type illustrated by Cunningham[4] we see that a copper piece weighs 65 grains, while a silver one weighs 62 grains. As regards the pieces with the *Adivarāha* type we find that the silver coin illustrated by Cunningham[5] weighs 62 grains. The copper coins of this type catalogued by Smith weigh 61 and 57.9 grains whereas the silver ones range between 51.9 and 63.4 grains.[6] The coins of Vināyakapāladeva are found to weigh between 62 and 69 grains.[7] Cunningham gives 65 grains as the weight of the silver coins with the legend *Śrī Somaladeva.* According to him the copper coins of this king have the horseman device on them and are in three sizes of 65, 33 and 17 grains[8]. The copper coins with the legend *Sri Tri-vi* are found weighing 16 and 19 grains.[9]

It becomes clear from the above that the Indo-Sassanian coins of copper and silver alike were intended to approximate to the weight 67.5 grains. Coins recorded as weighing more than this standard are few in number. Generally there is a depreciation of some 7 grains in the weight of the coins which may also be regarded as excusable, because anything nearing perfection is neither seen nor expected in the coins of ancient times. It is however equally possible that the depreciation in some cases was deliberate, especially where we find that the coins weigh some 12 grains less than their standard. We would suggest that the pieces weighing in the neighbourhood of 50.62 grains were intended to pass as three-fourths of the standard coins. Likewise it would appear from some pieces weighing 33 and 17 grains that there were half (33.75 grains) and one-fourth (16.87) denominations of this weight standard.

The silver coins of Spalapatideva of the Shāhi family of Ohind weigh between 45.3 and 54 grains, wheras the weight of

1. Ibid., pp. 240f.
2. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 205.
3. *CCIM*, I, pp. 239f.
4. *CMI*, p. 34, nos. 15, 16.
5. Ibid., no. 20.
6. *CCIM*, I, pp. 241 f.
7. *JNSI*, X, p. 29.
8. *CMI*, p. 53.
9. Ibid., pp. 54f.

the copper pieces ranges between 38.8 and 45 grains.[1] The silver coins of Sâmantadeva catalogued by Smith weigh between 45.2 and 51.2 grains.[2] But Cunningham illustrates two silver coins which weigh 50 and 33 grains. As regards his copper coins with the humped bull and horseman device, Smith catalogues pieces weighing between 45.4 and 54.2 grains, whereas copper coins of the elephant and lion type range between 30.7 and 37.5 grains.[3] According to Cunningham,[4] the latter type is found on coins of three sizes weighing about 42, 14 and 7 grains. Likewise, in the case of the copper coins of Vakkadeva, whereas Smith records pieces ranging between 29.1 and 39.1 grains,[5] Cunningham mentions these coins as being of three sizes 52, 42 and 18 grains.[6] The silver coins of Aśatapāla recorded by Smith weigh 45 and 45.5 and his copper pieces illustrated by Cunningham[8] are 48 grains in weight. The silver pieces of Khudavayaka noticed by Smith[9] range between 44.5 and 49.7 grains. The silver and copper coins of Bhīmadeva respectively weigh 50 and 24 grains.[10] The solitary coin of Kamara weighs 30.3 grains.[11]

An analysis of these weights would indicate that the coins of the Shāhi kings did not follow the weight scheme of a drachma but in the case of copper and silver pieces alike were made to approximate to the weight of a *purāṇa* or 58.56 grains. But these coins were depreciated in weight. They are not found weighing more than 54.2 grains and often are 52, 50, 48 or 45 grains, which indicates that the depreciation ranged between 4 and 13 grains. Pieces weighing 42 grains or even 33, 37, 38 or 39 grains can be recognised as three-fourths of the standard weight (43.92) with a depreciation of 2 to 11 grains, but the weight 33 grains is found only for a solitary piece. Coins weighing 30.7, 30.3 or 29.1 grains are to be treated as one-half pieces (29.58). Coins weighing 24 and 18 grains are also to be classed as one-half pieces with a depreciation of 5 and 11 grains. Coins weighing 14 and 7 grains can clearly be recognised respectively as one-fourth (14.79) and one-eighth (7.39) of the standard coins.

The gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva generally weigh about 60

1. *CCIM*, I, pp. 246f.
2. Ibid., p. 247.
3. *CCIM*, I, p. 248.
4. *CMI*, p. 64.
5. *CCIM*, I, pp. 248f.
6. *CMI*, pp. 62f.
7. *CCIM*, I, p. 249.
8. *CMI*, p. 65.
9. *CCIM*, I, p. 249.
10. *CMI*, pp. 64f.
11. Ibid., p. 62.

grains.[1] V. V. Mirashi illustrates one of his gold coins weighing 61 grains.[2] According to Cunningham[3] his gold coins weigh 62, 30 or 14 grains. The gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva catalogued by Smith[4] range between 59.3 and 63 grains and there are solitary pieces weighing 14.6 and 5.6 grains. The top weight of his gold coins in the Lucknow Museum is 65 grains. It is clear that these gold coins follow the weight prescribed for a drachma. The depreciation in their weight ranges between 2.5 and 8.2 grains, usually some 6 grains. The pieces weighing 30, 14 or 5.6 grains are to be regarded respectively as one-half (33.75), one-fourth (16.87) and one-eighth (8.43) denominations. It would appear that the silver and copper coins of Gāṅgeyadeva also follow the weight standard for a drachma. Thus Thus Cunningham[5] mentions his silver coins as weighing 61 and 7 grains, which may be taken to correspond to the weight of a drachma and its one-eighth. Cunningham[6] gives 61 grains as the weight of the copper coins of Gāṅgeyadeva. The three copper pieces noted by Smith[7] weigh 59.2, 48.7 and 48.3 grains. In this case we find not only a piece having the weight of a drachma but also one of three-fourths (50.62) that weight.

The Chandella kings, who borrowed the coin-type started by Gāṅgeyadeva, also adopted the weight-standard of the latter's coins. The gold coins of Kīrtivarman approximate to 63 or 31 grains and thus are to be recognised as being equal in weight respectively to a drachma and its half.[8] Smith[9] catalogues two gold coins of Madanavarman weighing 62.2 and 62.3 grains and one weighing 15.6 grains. These clearly approximate to the weight respectively of a drachma and its one-fourth. Eight gold coins of Madanavarman found in the Rewa State weigh between 13.16 and 16.07 grains[10] and are equal to one-fourth of a drachma. The reign of Paramardi is represented by a solitary gold piece weighing 61.4 grains[11] and obviously intended to represent the weight of a drachma. The gold coins of Sallakshaṇa are of two types according as their weight approximates to those of a drachma or a quarter

1. *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 110-11.
2. *CII*, IV, p. clxxxii.
3. *CMI*, p. 72.
4. *CCIM*, I, p. 252.
5. *CMI*, p. 72.
6. Ibid.
7. *CCIM*, I, p. 253.
8. *IA*, XXXVII, pp. 147 f.
9. *CCIM*, I, p. 253.
10 *JASB, NS*, XXII, p. 131. There is a solitary silver coins of Madanavarman in the collection of Mr. Hoey which weighs equal to the quarter of a drachma. But it is not unlikely that like many gold pieces of the Chandellas very heavily alloyed with silver the present piece was officially intended to pass as being of gold.
11. *JASB*, 1889, p. 34.

drachma. His copper coins also have a weight approximating to a drachma. For the reign of Jayavarman we have copper coins weighing 60 grains which were most likely intended to correspond to the weight of a drachma. A.S. Altekar[1] mentions a solitary copper piece of Jayavarman weighing 30 grains and hence representing a half of the standard weight. The copper coins of Pṛithvīvarman also correspond to the weight standard of a drachma. One of his copper coins which weighs 16.2 grains can be easily recognised as representing one-quarter of the weight of a drachma. For the reign of Trailokyavarman we have gold and copper coins alike approximating to the weight of a drachma. Vīravarman is represented by two gold coins weighing respectively 62.5[2] and 46[3] grains. We can easily recognise in these pieces the weight standard of a drachma and its three-fourths (50.62). The above survey makes it clear that the coins of the Chandellas, irrespective of their metal, were made to approximate to the weight standard of a drachma, though they usually show a depreciation of some 5 to 7 grains.

The coins of the Kalachuris of S. Kosala reveal two different weight standards. The two gold coins of Jājalladeva illustrated by V.V. Mirashi[4] weigh 61 and 15.5 grains. These can be recognised as approximating to the weight of a drachma and its one-fourth. But the coins catalogued by Smith[5] range either between 56.3 and 59.9 or between 13.3 and 14 grains. Thus the maximum depreciation in the two series would be respectively 11.2 and 3.57 grains. The gold coins of Ratnadeva noticed by V. V. Mirashi[6] weigh 62 and 15.5 grains. But Smith[7] catalogues one piece weighing 60 5 grains and others ranging between 12.5 and 13.0 grains. Thus the maximum depreciation in the gold coins of Ratnadeva works out as 7 and 4.37 grains. The gold coins of Pṛithvīdeva also follow the weight standard of a drachma. V. V. Mirashi[8] illustrates two gold coins of this king weighing respectively 61 and 15 grains. But Smith[9] catalogues only pieces approximating to the weight of a drachma and ranging betweed 59 and 60.2 grains thus indicating a maximum depreciation of 8.87 grains. But the copper coins of the Kalachuris of S. Kosala are difficult to fit into the weight standard of a drachma. The copper

1. *JNSI*, V, p. 33. A silver coin of Jayavarman noticed by Cunningham in the collection of the British Museum is not traceable now.
2. *CCIM*, I, p. 254.
3. *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 236-8.
4. *CII*, IV, p. clxxxv.
5. *CIIM*, I, pp. 254f.
6. *CII*, IV, p. clxxxvi.
7. *CIIM*, I, p. 255.
3. *CII*, IV, pp. clxxxvi-vii.
9. *CIIM*, I, p. 254.

coin of Jājalladeva illustrated by V. V. Mirashi weighs 43.5 grains.[1] The two copper coins of Ratnadeva weigh 100 and 23.5 grains.[2] The four pieces of Pṛithvīdeva are found to weigh 99.5, 68, 99.5 and 73 grains.[3] The two coins of Pratāpamalla weigh 38 and 29 grains.[4] These copper coins seem to have been based on the standard weight of a *karsha* or 80 *raktikās* or 146.4 grains laid down for a *paṇa*.[5] It is significant that there is no piece corresponding to the full weight of a *paṇa*. This is typical of the coins of this period, which reveal considerable depreciation, most likely deliberately made. The coins weighing 100 and 99.5 may be regarded as the three-fourths of a *paṇa* (109.8) with a depreciation of 9.8 grains; those weighing 73 and 68 grains are to be taken as one-half of a *paṇa* (73.2); the 43.5 and 38 grains pieces to be one-third of a *paṇa* (48.8), those of 29 grains to be one-fourth of a *paṇa* (36.6) and those of 23.5 grains to be one-sixth of a *paṇa* (24.4). The only king of the family who seems to have struck silver coins is Pṛithvīdeva. But even these are very rare and Mr. L. P. Pandeya has so far been able to secure only three of them.[6] One piece illustrated by V. V. Mirashi[7] weighs only 6 grains, which was probably intended to pass as one-eighth of the standard piece of weight equal to a drachma.

An analysis of the Gāhaḍavāla coins also indicates the use of two different weight standards, the *purāṇa* standard of weight for silver and copper coins and the drachma standard for the gold coins. The reason for this differentiation is to be found in the prototypes of these two series. The silver and copper coins of the Gāhaḍavālas are of the horseman and bull type, ultimately derived from the coins of the Shāhi kings of Ohind which followed the *purāṇa* standard weight. On the other hand, the gold coins of the Gāhaḍavālas are of the seated goddess type, and, being copied from the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, adopt the weight standard of a drachma. The silver coin of Madanapāla catalogued by Smith[8] weighs 45.3 grains whereas his copper pieces range between 46.6 and 50 grains. The copper coins of Govindachandra noticed by Smith weigh 37, 40.7 and 49.3 grains. The depreciation in the case of the silver coin of Madanapāla is 13.26 grains whlle in the case of his copper

1. *CII*, IV, p. clxxxv.
2. Ibid., p. clxxxvi.
3. Ibid., p. clxxxvi-vii.
4. Ibid., p. clxxxvii.
5. The suggestion seems to receive support from the fact that the Kaman Stone Inscription (*EI*, XXIV, pp. 335) seems to use *paṇa* as the term for a copper coin.
6. *CII*, IV, p. clxxxvii.
7. Ibid., p. clxxxvi (no. 14 in Plate A).
8. *CCIM*, I, pp. 260f.

coins it ranges between 11.96 to 8.56 grains. The copper coin of Govindachandra weighing 49.3 grains indicates a depreciation of 9.26 grains. His coins weighing 37 and 40.7 grains are to be regarded as three-fourths of the standard weight (43.92), thus showing a depreciation of 6.92 and 3.22 grains. The two gold coins of Govindachandra weigh 58.8 and 68 grains. These pieces can be taken to follow the weight standard of a drachma. The weights of these coins show a clear tendency to form two groups approximating to 68 and 61 grains. The first group may testifiy to an attempt on the part of the Gāhaḍavāla king to be faithful in following the weight standard whereas the second group indicates the regular tendency of depreciation in the coins of the period.

As regards their weight standard the coins of kings described by Cunningham and Smith as belonging to the Tomara dynasty unfold a tale similar to that of the coins of the Gāhaḍavāla kings. The copper coins of the dynasty follow the bull and horseman type not only in type but also in the weight scheme and thus approximate to the weight standard of a *purāṇa*. Likewise the gold coins of the dynasty are of the seated goddess type, borrowed from the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, whose drachma standard is also adopted by the coins of the Tomaras. The two copper coins of Sallakshaṇapāla noticed by Smith[1] weigh 48.9 and 50.6 grains thus having a depreciation of respectively 9.66 and 7.96 grains. The copper coins of Anaṅgapāla range between 45.7 and 50.2 grains mostly clustering round 50 grains with one piece weighing 43.7 grains. The coin weighing 43.7 grains may be regarded as representing three-fourths (43.92) of the standard weight of a *purāṇa* while the remainder were intended to approximate to a *purāṇa*, with a depreciation ranging between 12.86 and 8.36 grains. The two copper coins of Mahīpāla[2] weigh 47.5 and 46 grains. They were also made after the *purāṇa* standard but the depreciation in these cases is 11.06 and 12.56 grains. On the other hand the gold coins of Kumārapāladeva weigh 61.7 and 62.7 grains.[3] We may take these as approximating to the weight standard of a drachma.

The copper and silver coins of the Chāhamānas also borrow the bull and horseman type started by the Shāhi kings of Ohind. The weight standard of these coins of the Chāhamānas also follows the weight standard used by the Shāhi kings i.e., a *purāṇa* weighing 58.56 grains. Thus the copper coins of

1. *CCIM*, I, p. 259.
2. Ibid., p. 260.
3. Ibid., p. 259.

Someśvaradeva noticed by Smith[1] weigh 41, 48.1, 50 and 52.7 grains. The last three appear to have been intended for a piece weighing a *purāṇa* whereas the first represented its three-fourths. In the case of the *purāṇa* pieces the depreciation ranges between 10.46 and 5.86 grains whereas in the case of the three-fourths piece it is only 2.92 grains. The copper coins of Pṛithvīrāja approximate to the weight of a *purāṇa* more closely, ranging between 50.6 and 53.5, thus narrowing down the depreciation to between 7.96 and 5.06 grains. Only one piece has an unsually small weight of 47.4 grains with a depreciation of 11.16 grains. His silver coin illustrated by Smith and weighing 52 grains may easily be regarded as following the weight standard for a *purāṇa,* with a depreciation of 6.56 grains.

The coins of the kings of Narwar including Malayavarman, a Pratihāra chief of the place, and the kings of the Jājpella dynasty follow the weight standard of a *purāṇa.* These coins are of the horseman and bull type and the kings of Narwar seem to have borrowed the weight standard along with the coin type from the Shāhi kings of Ohind. The three copper coins of Malayavarman noticed by Smith[3] weigh 57, 51. 1 and 44 grains. The first two may be regarded as approximating to the weight of a *purāṇa* while the last one represents a three-quarter piece (43.92). The copper coins of Chāhaḍadeva approximate very closely to the standard weight of a *purāṇa.* The weights of his coins catalogued by Smith are 49.7, 51.8, 53.5, 54.8, 54.9 and 57.5 grains.[4] It is clear that, leaving aside his three pieces approximating to 51 grains, most of his coins are in the vicinity of 54 grains, most of his coins are in the vicinity of 54 grains, while one piece is almost identical in weight to the standard.

The bull and horseman type of coins with the names of Pīpala, Pithi (Pṛithvī) or Kīrtti[5] also adopt the standard for the weight of a *purāṇa,* most likely because the issuer of these coins borrowed the weight standard as well as the type from the coins of the Shāhi kings. Thus the copper coins of Pīpala weigh 52.1 and 52.4 grains while those of Pithi weigh 52 and 52.2 grains. The silver coin of Kīrtti weighs 50.5 grains. Thus the depreciation in these three types of coin ranges between 8.06 and 6.16 grains.

1. Ibid., p. 261.
2. Ibid., p. 262.
3. Ibid., p. 262.
4. Ibid., pp. 262f.
5. Ibid., p. 263.

The copper coins with the Śiva and bull type are recovered mostly from East Punjab and Delhi area and are described by Cunningham as having circulated in the period between 500 and 800 A. D.[1] The weight as recorded by Smith in the case of some of these pieces is 58.4, 66.3, 70 and 78 grains. It is difficult to determine the weight scheme followed by these coins. The two latter weights, especially the last, would suggest that these are not based on the drachma standard. We may suggest that as the device is to be traced to the coins of the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva, the present coins adopt their weight standard also, but the depreciation in the weight will have to be recognised as very wide. Another possibility is that these coins follow the traditional weight of a *kārshāpaṇa* as 80 *rattīs* or 144 grains but were minted only to weigh half of its standard weight.

Stein[2] has discussed the weight standard of the Kashmir coins very thoroughly. The coins with the name of Toramāṇa which initiate the typical coins of Kashmir of the early medieval period range between 83.8 and 111.5 grains, mostly clustering around 100 grains. The coins with the names of Pratāpāditya, Vinayāditya, Yaśovarman or Vigraha on them, which form a separate category because of the debasement of their device, have a higher upper limit, weighing from 83.8 to 123.5 grains. The long series of typical Kashmir coins of the period beginning with the reign of Śaṅkaravarman are lighter in weight, ranging between 71.5 and 97.5 grains.

1. *CMI*, pp. 48f.
2. *Rāj.*, II, note H ; *Num. Chron.*, 1899,

MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

LALLANJI GOPAL

It appears that for daily transactions cowries hand come to be very largely used in the early medieval period of Indian history. Fa-hsien[1] observes that even in his period Indians were using cowries in buying and selling commodities. The records for the early medieval period indicate that cowries were in regular use.

The *Līlāvatī*[2] equates 20 *varāṭakas* (cowries) with one *kākiṇī* and four *kākiṇīs* with one *paṇa*. The same equations are given in the Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra* but it uses the name *kauḍa* for *varāṭaka* and mentions *boḍī* as another term for *kāgiṇī* (or *kākiṇī*).[3] We find the same equations in Bengali arithmetical table but as another term *gaṇḍā* is also introduced the equations are 4 *karās* (*kauṛīs*) = 1 *gaṇḍā*; 5 *gaṇḍās* = 1 *buṛi* (*boḍiā*); 5 *buṛis* = 1 *paṇa*.[4]

The Siyadoni inscription refers to both *varāṭaka* and *kāpardaka*,[5] but as the references are not in the same context it does not affect their being synonyms. In the Bilhari (M. P.) inscription one *kapardī* is mentioned as a cess to be paid to the Śaiva ascetics by each shop.[6] The Tezpur (Assam) rock inscription of Harjjara lays down a penalty of 100 cowries for the infringement of certain state regulations.[7]

In the copper plate grants of the Sena kings there are references to *purāṇas* and *kapardaka-purāṇas*. But these are not two different coin-denominations. From the references in the

1. (Legge) p. 43.
2. I. 2.
3. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 141 ff.
4. *JUPHS*, XVIII, p. 196. V. V. Mirashi (*CII*, IV, p. clxxxix suggests that *kaparda* was identical with *kākiṇī* and was equivalent to 20 cowries. But we think that *kaparda* itself was a term for cowrie. The *kauṛī* of modern Hindi is derived from *kaparda*. This is supported by the Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra* which uses the form *kauḍa* for cowries—*JNSI*, VIII, pp. 141 ff. Kshemakīrti also in commenting on *Bṛihatkalpabhāshya* paraphrases *karaḍḍa* as *kapardaka*–ibid., II, p. 573. The *Vaijayantī*, p. 247, ll. 11–12 equates a *kākaṇī* with 20 cowries (*kapardas*) and adds that sometimes it is taken to be equal to one *kaparda*. It would appear that though generally a *kākiṇī* was regarded as worth 20 cowries, in some particular area *kākiṇī* and *kaparda* were treated as synonyms.
5. *EI*, I, pp. 173 ff. ll. 45, 20.
6. *CII*, IV, pp. 209 ff., v. 80. Here *kapardī* seems to have been differentiated from *dyūtakaparda*.
7. *JBORS*, 1917, pp. 508 f.

grants they appear to have been interchangeable terms. *Kapardaka* was prefixed to *purāṇa* with a view to make the identity of the coins clear.[1] D. R. Bhandarkar[2] explained the term to refer to a silver coin (*purāṇa*) shaped like a cowrie (*kapardaka*). But not a single coin of this shape has been recovered from any part of India; and such a coin, besides the difficulty in fabrication, would mark a retrogression in the evolution of coinage.[3] S. K. Chakravortty[4] convincingly argues that *kapardaka-purāṇa* was a mere theoretical unit of account representing the value of a *purāṇa* counted in cowries and not an actual coin. Thus payments would appear to have been made in cowries which represented the prevailing currency, and though the silver *purāṇa* was regarded as the standard coin it was not in general use and a certain number of cowries came to be equated to the silver coin.

In the Shergadh (Kotah) inscription there is a reference to a coin-denomination called *kapardaka-voḍī*.[5] A. S. Altekar[6] corrected *voḍī* into *vodṛī*, which he regarded as equal to the fourth part of a copper *paṇa*, and concluded that *kapardaka-voḍī* must have been equal to 20 cowries. But it would appear from many other references in diverse sources that the name *voḍḍi* was more common in use.[7] However, his surmise about the value of a *voḍī* is supported by the Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra*[8] which equates 20 *kauḍas* with one *kāgiṇī* or *boḍī*. What is significant in the present inscription is the form *kapardaka-voḍī*. As it would be absurd to explain the expression as meaning a *voḍī* equal to a *kapardaka*, it is to be analysed as meaning a *voḍī* calculated in terms of *kapardakas*.[9] On the analogy of the *kapardaka-purāṇa*, the present expression is to be taken to indicate that the *boḍī* was not a coin in actual use but was a theoretical monetary value. The term *kapardaka* was prefixed to *voḍī* to make it clear that *voḍī* was really calculated and paid in terms of cowries. This also suggests that round about the Kotah state in Rajasthan cowries were the usual currency.

1. *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 668 f.
2. *AIN*, pp. 139, 176.
3. *IHQ*, IX, p. 596.
4. Ibid., p. 599.
5. *EI*, XXIII, 140. 1.6.
6. Ibid.
7. Hemachandra's *Prākrit Grammar*, UV. 335—*boḍḍī*; *Mṛichchhakatika*, VIII. 40—*voḍia*; Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra*—*JNSI*, VIII, pp. 141 ff.—*boḍī*; Jaunpur brick inscription—*JUPHS*, XVIII, p. 196—*boddika*.
8. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 141ff; also Bengali arithmetical table—*JUPHS*, XVIII, p. 196.
9. *JNSI*, XX, p. 39.

A. K. Majumdar[1] holds that the mention of cowries does not necessarily mean that the shells were actually in use as a medium of exchange and that for the sake of convenience in calculation the coins of higher denominations were converted into cowries. But the doubt is not well-founded because we have, besides the mathematical tables and inscriptions, other references to the use of cowries as medium of exchange. The testimony of foreign travellers and writers is also very clear on this point. Chau Ju-kua makes a general statement about the people of T'ién-chu (India) that they use cowries as a medium of exchange.[2] We learn from the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*[3] that when the Muhammadans first came to Bengal they did not find the people using a money currency, but cowries. Ibn Batūta also records that the people of Bengal used cowries as money and purchased them from the inhabitants of the Maldives.[4] All doubts on the subject are set aside by the recent discovery of a treasure trove from Bhaundri village in Lucknow district which contained, besides the coin of the Pratihāra king Vināyakapāla, 9834 cowries.[5]

That the cowries were objects of value and were used for exchange in economic transactions follows from the *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa* of Dāmodara Paṇḍita, who was associated with the Gāhaḍavāla court. The text has a reference to a merchant hoarding cowries in his house.[6] Elsewhere it speaks of cowries being counted.[7] The *Kṛityakalpataru* of Lakshmīdhara, who also belonged to the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom, mentions *kapardakas* as typical objects which are counted and are used in economic transactions (*gaṇimam*).[8] There are literary references also which speak of cowries as being used in daily transactions; though they are in many cases mentioned as being of very little value, there is no suggestion that they were mere theoretical monetary values.[9] Cowries are known to have been used in India even during the nineteenth century.

The question next to be answered is the extent to which the early medieval period had a regular currency. It has to be

1. *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 272.
2. p. 111. Earlier (p. 97) he states that the people of P'ön-k'ie-lo (Balhara i.e., the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom) use pieces of white conch shells ground into shape as money.
3. (Tr.) p. 556.
4. K. A. N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 1:2.
5. *JUPHS*, XIX, p. 85.
6. p. 51, 1.8 - *Vaṇijo grihe kaparddakān nikshipyati.*
7. p. 41, 1.7—*Kaparddakān gaṇayati.*
8. *Vyavahāra*, p. 124.
9. *Brihatkathākośa*, LXXVI, 23, 43; XXX, 29; *Kalāvilāsa*, II, 5, 7; *Samayamātrikā*, VIII, 80; *Narmamālā*, I, 103; *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, V, 633; *Dhūrtākhyāna*, V, 71; *Dohākośa*, XIV, 86 (p. 331).

emphasised at the very outset that even up till a very recent past barter played a considerable part in the economy of India, at least in rural areas. This should serve as a caution for any claim or expectation of a very developed money economy in the early medieval period. In this period also barter[1] can be assumed to have covered most transactions in the villages. It would appear from Medhātithi that merchants and traders also sometimes found it convenient to resort to barter. Medhātithi[2] explains that *paṇya* (merchandise) is the substance (*dravya*) that is sold for money, or is exchanged for some other substance. In some of the story books of our period also we read of merchants visiting distant parts of the country and exchanging their own merchandise with the wares of those regions.[3] The mathematical texts of the period[4] mention the rule for determining the value in the case of a barter (*bhāṇḍa-pratibhāṇḍaka*).

The main thing which strikes the student of the numismatics of this period is the extreme paucity of gold coins. The Indo-Sassanian coins are not known to have been struck in gold. The Shāhi kings also struck coins only of silver and copper. The coins of Kashmir reveal a boring uniformity, being only in copper. The solitary exception is that of Harsha (1089-1101 A. D.) who issued gold and silver coins.[5] Among earlier kings the coins with the name of Pratāpāditya, Vinayāditya, Yaśovarman and Vigraha are often made of an alloy probably intended to pass as base gold.[6] Gold coins in Northern India were first struck, after a gap of many centuries following the Guptas, by Gāṅgeyadeva, the Kalachuri king of Tripuri. His gold coins are not scarce.[7] But it would appear that his successors did not issue coin of any kind.[8] The gold coins of Kīrtivarman, the first Chandella king to issue coins, are limited in number.[9] For the reign of Madanavarman, whose coins are the most numerous of all Chandella kings, we have in all only 59 coins.[10] We have only one coin of base gold for the reign of Paramardi.[11] The gold coins of Hallakshana are also few, and we

1. *Vaijayantī*, p. 123, l. 12 ; p. 128. l. 141.
2. On *Manu*, V. 127.
3. *Samarāichchakahā*, VI, p. 16 ; *Trishashṭiśalākā*, I, pp. 7ff.
4. *Līlāvatī*, p. 35 (no. 85) ; *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha*, IV. 37-38.
5. *CMI*, p. 34.
6. *CCIM*, I, 266.
7. 22 gold coins from Azamgarh—*JNSI*, XVII, p. 111 ; 3 gold coins—Cunningham, *ASR*, X, p. 25 ; *CII*, IV, p. clxxxiii.
8. Eight gold coins with the name of Gāṅgeyadeva found at Isurpur in Saugor district differ in fabric from the other coins of Gāṅgeyadeva and hence are taken by V. V. Mirashi to have been struck by Karṇa, the son and successor of Gāṅgeyadeva—*JNSI*, III, p. 26.
9. *IA*, XXXVII, p. 148.
10. Mitra, *Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, pp. 183f.
11. *JASB*, 1889, p. 34.

have none for Jayavarman and Pṛithvīvarman.[1] There are a few gold coins of Trailokyavarman and two pieces only for Vīravarman.[2] As compared with other dynasties the gold coins of the Kalachuris of Dakshiṇa Kosala make an impressive list.[3] Among the Paramāra kings we find only a solitary gold coin for king Udayāditya (1060-1087 A. D.).[4] The only Chaulukya king whose gold coins have been recovered is Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (1098-1143 A. D.) but these are only two in number.[5] There are two gold coins of Vīrasiṁha of the Kachchhapaghāta dynasty of Nalapura,[6] five gold coins with the device of a cow suckling a calf[7] and a unique gold coin of king Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty.[8] Among the kings whom Cunningham assigns to the Tomara dynasty, only two, Kumārapāladeva and Mahīpāla, are found to have issued gold coins, but even these are scarce. As against the coins of the kings and dynasties noticed above we find that the gold coins of king Govindachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty are really abundant, though they are extremely debased. In 1887 some 800 of his gold coins were recovered from one single hoard in Bahraich district.[9]

Considering the area and time covered by them these gold coins are miserably meagre in number. If we prepare an exhaustive list of the amount of gold and the number of gold coins which the early Muslim invaders are said to have obtained by way of loot, ransom and penalty, much of the paucity of gold coins can be explained. But even this cannot account for the fact that many dynasties and many kings do not appear to have struck any gold coin at all. It is obvious that, in view of the cheapness of commodities in the period when cowries were sufficient for daily transactions, the gold coins would have been very high in value and would not have been ordinarily needed. The feudalisation of the state-structure that took place in the period would have dispensed with much of the need for higher denomination of coins which in earlier periods might have been required to remunerate or reward important functionaries of the state. It is also not unlikely that coins struck in earlier

1. Mitra, Loc. cit., p. 183.
2. Ibid., p. 184.
3. 600 gold coins from Bilaspur—*JAHRS*, XII, p. 169; 36 gold coins from Orissa (9 from Puri and 27 from Sonepur)—*JNSI*, XVII, pp. 58ff; 56 coins from Sarangarh in Chhattisgarh—*Proc. ASB*, 1893, p. 92.
4. *JASB*, NS, XXXIII, p. 203. K. P. Rode reports the discovery of a coin of king Jagadeva of the Paramara dynasty—*JNSI*, IX, p. 75. But the details about the coin are lacking.
5. *JASB*, NS, VII, p. 47.
6. *IHQ*, XVIII, p. 71.
7. *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 278-80.
8. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 123-25.
9. *CCIM*, I, p. 257.

periods continued to be in circulation in this period. It is significant that after the Guptas no gold coins appear to have been issued for over 450 years. We may suggest that during this period the gold coins of the Kuṣāṇas and Guptas continued to be used but as in course of time many of these were melted down, some of the kings from the eleventh century onward following the example of Gāṅgeyadeva felt the need for issuing gold coins.

Specimens of highly debased gold coins and pieces which were made of silver but had a gold plating indicate that such coins were legal tender in at least the kingdom of the ruler issuing them. If they were meant to be treated according to their metallic contents there would not have been much sense in debasing them. It would appear therefore that they were intended to represent a value more than that indicated by their metallic contents. But gold coins must have been also used in larger transactions like inter-state trade. It goes without saying that a merchant coming from an area outside the empire of a certain king would not be willing to accept at its intended value a debased gold coin issued by that king. Thus in inter-state and foreign trade relations gold coins were used according to their real weight and purity of metal. The mathematical texts of our period have a full section dealing with rules relating to calculation of the weight, purity and value of gold and in the illustrations they mention how merchants by combining gold pieces of different purity and exchanging them for other pieces obtain profit.[1] In such circumstances kings usually would not have taken the trouble of minting gold coins but would have left it to the big merchants and trading concerns to issue their own gold coins. The *Jāmi 'ul-Hikāyāt* of Muhammad 'Aufī records that during the reign of Yamīn-ud daula Mahmūd some sharp men of India brought out a dirham of great purity and placed a suitable price upon it. Time passed on and the coin obtained currency. Merchants coming from Muhammadan countries used to purchase these dirhams and carry them to Khurasan. When the people had grown accustomed to the value of the coin, the Indians began by degrees to debase the standard and the merchants unaware of the depreciation, under the impression of deriving a profit, brought silver and gold to exchange for the debased coins of copper and brass.[2] Even though the historicity of this particular affair may be doubted, it does reflect the prevailing practice. On this point we have a significant reference in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[3] which says that a good minister under king

1. *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha*, V, 169-212; *Līlāvatī*, pp. 43-45 (nos. 101-9), 30 (no.77).
2. Elliot and Dowson, II, p. 188.
3. VII, 211-12.

Ananta (1028-1063 A.D.) abolished the royal privilege of marking the gold according to quality and price in order to remove the chance of oppression by later kings. We do not have any parallel reference for any other part of northern India. But on the basis of the reference from Kashmir we can say that theoretically a king had the right to examine the gold coins struck by the bankers before they were allowed to circulate. Some of the kings and dynasties must have actually exercised this right. But this was regarded as a source of much trouble to the bankers in case an oppressive king had a mind to exploit it.

Gold coins are amazingly numerous in the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods. This gold currency was issued most likely to meet the requirements of the brisk trade relations which existed between India, Central and Western Asia, Egypt and Rome. In the early medieval period, the paucity of coins is to be connected with the comparative decline in the volume of this foreign trade.

The silver coins of the period reveal a state of affairs which is by no means encouraging even when compared with that indicated by the gold coins of the period. Some kings and dynasties did not issue any silver coins, while others had to resort to heavily debased or billon coins. Thus in Kashmir the only king to issue silver coins was Harsha. The Indo-Sassanian or *gadahiyā* coins are mostly of very base silver, so that at times it is difficult to be sure whether a given coin was meant to be circulated as a copper coin or a silver one. It has been suggested that the so-called copper pieces were originally silver-plated and were meant to be used as silver coins.[1] This is however going to the other extreme. There are no doubt many coins which can easily be recognised as honest copper pieces. The coins of the Shāhi kings of Ohind were issued in both silver and copper. The analysis of one of the silver coins of this family reveals that it contains 894.6/1000 silver, the balance being copper, with a trace of gold.[2] As compared with the silver coins of other kings of northern India, these form a really satisfactory series. V. A. Smith[3] doubts if the Kalachuris either of Tripuri or of Ratnapura or the Chandellas issued a silver currency. Their gold coins are generally so largely alloyed with silver that they can hardly be distinguished from silver coins and hence it is not unlikely that coins which appear to have been of silver were officially intended as gold coins. Among the Chandella kings, we have a solitary doubtful specimen of a silver coin of the

1. *JNSI*, XV, p. 218.
2. *Proc. ASB*, 1889, p. 198.
3. *CCIM*, I, p. 252.

reign of king Madanavarman. But this may have been intended to circulate as gold, like the heavily alloyed gold coins of the Chandellas.[1] Likewise, though the coins of the Kalachuris of Ratnapura are found quite abundantly, there are only three silver coins all belonging to the reign of Pṛithvīdeva.[2] If these are honest silver coins, we can say that Pṛithvīdeva made a weak attempt to introduce a silver currency. He did not issue a large number of silver coins and the scheme had to be dropped by other kings of his family. The bull and horseman coins issued by the Tomaras, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Chāhamānas, the kings of Narwar and other unidentified Rajput kings[3] are mostly composed of billon, a mixture of silver and copper. The ratio of the two metals in these coins varies so much that the coins range from fairly good silver to merely pure copper. But the number of coins which can be classed as honest silver coins is limited indeed and most of the coins of these kings are to be branded as of highly debased silver or of billon.

The general paucity and debasement of silver coins may be connected with the decrease in the amount of silver which India could receive. In those times, before the discovery of America, the chief source of silver was Central Asia. The rise of the Arab power under the vigorous impact of Islam and the political disturbances which resulted in Central Asia must have affected the trade relations between India and these parts of Asia, with the consequent decline in the quantity of silver coming to India.[4]

The above survey must have made it clear that there was a general paucity of coins in this period which we have seen may have been due to the general cheapness of price, the feudal conditions of society and polity, the larger use of cowries for daily transactions and the draining of a considerable amount of coined money by the Muslim invaders. Side by side we find that the coins of the period show a debasement in metal as in weight. This we may connect with a general paucity of gold and silver in the period. Sometimes these features of the early medieval coins are traced to the unfavourable balance of trade which India is supposed to have suffered from in the period.[5] But though there was a general decline in the amount of India's foreign trade in this period, it is difficult to believe that the evidence indicates an unfavourable balance of trade. And, as

1. Mitra, *Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, pp. 183 f.
2. *CII*, IV, p. clxxxvii.
3. *CCIM*, I, pp. 259-63.
4. C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, p. 53.
5. N. R. Ray, *Bāṅgālir Itihāsa*, q. by A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 270.

has been rightly pointed out by A. K. Majumdar,[1] it is highly debatable if the economic forces, such as balance of trade, which operate in the modern world, had any influence in those days when the mode of trading was entirely different.

In the early medieval period we find that though some of the major dynasties did not issue a regular currency and appear not to have minted many coins, some of the insignificant dynasties or kings issued considerable quantity of coins judged according to the conditions of the period. The Sena kings are not known to have issued any coins at all. For the Pālas we have only a very limited number of coins and their ascription is doubtful. We have only three copper coins of a unique type from Paharpur which are tentatively assigned to the early Pāla empire.[2] Scholars do not agree about ascribing the coins with the legend *Śrī Vigra* to king Vigrahapāla of the Pāla dynasty.[3] Recently a unique gold coin of king Devapāla has been discovered.[4] The coins of the Chaulukyas, Paramāras and Kachchhapaghātas are very few indeed and belong to the reigns of only one or two kings of these dynasties. For the Pratihāras, the Chandellas, the Kalachuris of Tripuri and Ratnapura, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Chāhamānas and the Tomaras also we do not find coins for all the kings of the dynasties. As against this, the comparatively insignificant dynasty of the Shāhi kings of Ohind issued an abundant currency.

What is even more remarkable is the fact that even the kings or dynasties who issued coins did not aim at a complete currency. Their coins are found only in one metal or two and then it is seldom that all the smaller denominations of a particular coin of a given weight standard seem to have been issued. The only exception to this general rule is provided by the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva which are in all the three metals and are found in smaller denominations also.

We would suggest that the issuing of coins was viewed by kings as a matter of convenience. If there was already in circulation a sufficient number of coins or if the economic needs of the kingdom did not require fresh coins, the kings refrained from issuing them. We know that Gāṅgeyadeva was the only king of the Kalachuri family of Tripuri to mint coins.[5] It is likely that by his time it was felt that the existing

1. Loc. cit.
2. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 667.
3. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 49; *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 667 f; *JNSI*, XIII, p. 124.
4. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 123f.
5. *JNSI*, III, p. 26. V. V. Mirashi ascribes eight gold coins with the name of Gāṅgeyadeva from Saugor district to Karṇa.

currency is not sufficient and hence he introduced a complete coinage system. But as his successors thought that Gāṅgeyadeva's coins were enough for the kingdom, they gave up issuing coins.

Sometimes coins were issued to proclaim some conquest on the part of the king concerned. Thus the Chandella coins, which were struck after the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, were most likely initiated by Kīrtivarman to signalise his victory over the Kalachuri king Lakshmīkarṇa. Likewise the adoption of the seated goddess type by the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra was done to proclaim some such victory achieved by the Gāhaḍavālas.

This apathy on the part of the ruling kings does not amount to their giving up the right to mint coinage. It is clear however that people in this period did not always view the issuing of coins as the necessary sign of an independent ruler. Issuing of coins was an important function of the state but it was viewed according to the requirements for new coins and the fact that a certain king or dynasty did not issue any coin was not interpreted as bringing down their status.

References in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* indicate that coined money was the right, privilege and concern of the state, though at times it did not perform the function or else gave a free hand to private concerns especially in the matter of gold coins. We have already referred to a minister under king Ananta as abolishing the royal privilege of marking the gold according to quality and price, in order to remove the chance of oppression by later kings.[1] Another passage in the same text speaks of a City Prefect as remedying the long-standing abuse of the disuse of cash in commercial transactions.[2] The reference to false *rūvagas* (*rūpakas*) in the *Āvaśyaka-chūrṇī*[3] of Jinadāsa written in c. 676 A. D., also makes a case for the coins being issued by the ruling authority and according to a certain standard of weight and purity of metal. Muhammad 'Aufī speaks of a certain Rai of India who conferred on his brother the chieftainship of Nahrwāla. This brother was of a wicked disposition and made counterfeit dirhams and circulated them in different parts of the country. The Rai on learning of this dishonest act sent an army and captured his brother.[4] This may indicate that the issuing of coins was the right of the sovereign king and he had to keep proper control over the

1. VII, pp. 211 f.
2. VIII, pp. 334 ff.
3. p. 550, q. in *JNSI*, XIV, p. 108.
4. Elliot and Dowson, II, p. 168.

currency circulating in his kingdom. The reference may also be made to show that the feudatory chiefs had no right to mint coins.

It would appear that in actual practice some of the merchants and bankers had also the permission to mint coins, mostly gold coins. We have seen above that this fact is mentioned in a passage in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[1] and also in the *Jāmi 'ul Hikāyāt*.[2] The coins issued by any king carried with them a presumption and surety about their value. But it would appear that where large amounts were involved all coins were alike evaluated according to their real value. In the *Lekhapaddhati*[3] the *drammas* involved in the transactions, even though they are mentioned as issued by king Viśvamalla (Bīsaladeva) and hence forming the regular currency, are referred to as being thrice examined (*triparīkshit*). Significantly enough in an inscription from Dhod (Rajasthan) dated 1228 V. S.,[4] 16 *drammas* with the name of Ajayadeva are said to have been tested before being accepted as the price of a house. Thus in actual practice, especially where large amounts were involved, the coins, whether of the local ruler or those issued by a king of another locality or dynasty, were alike tested and their value determined accordingly. Under such circumstances the coins minted by bankers had not much disadvantage. In an inscription from Chinchani (Thana) belonging to the middle of the tenth century[5] we find the transaction recorded in terms of money coined by a trader named Śreshṭhin Gaṁbhuvaka who was most likely a banker of repute and trust.

1. VII, pp. 211 f.
2. Elliot and Dowson, II, p. 188.
3. pp. 34, 43.
4. *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1922-23, p. 2.
5. *EI*, XXXII, p. 60, ll. 35-47.

ON THE RĀMAGUPTA OF COINS

JAI PRAKASH

Before the discovery of a fragmentary drama—*Devīchandraguptaṃ*—Samudragupta was generally believed to have been followed by Chandragupta II. But the passages of the said dramatic work pieced together with similar references noted in the *Harshacharita*, *Śriṅgāraprakāśa*, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, *Majmaluttavārīkha* and the Sanjan, Cambay and Sangli copper plate inscriptions of the Rāshṭrakūṭas led different scholars[1] to discuss the possiblity of the existence of a Rāmagupta, the elder brother and immediate predecessor of Chandragupta II. After sometime, the interest in Rāmagupta was revived after the discovery of some copper coins by P. L. Gupta, who attributed them to the supposed imperial Gupta king, Rāmagupta. Opinion on this attribution was, however, divided. A. K. Narain believed that they were issued by a local ruler of Madhya Pradesh, contemporaneous with the early Guptas.[2] Later, H. V. Trivedi[3] and K. D. Bajpai[4] published some more coins of the same king. In his short note, Bajpai held[5] that "the coin bearing the legend '*Rāmagupta*' was issued by some local king of Eastern Malava," apparently following Narain although without referring to him. Recently, Bajpai has published some more coins, this time of a new—*Garuḍa*—type too, of the same Rāmagupta,[6] and identifies him with his imperial Gupta namesake.

Although many of the objections and points raised by Narain against the attribution of P. L. Gupta still remain unanswered, yet the publication of the new coins of the *Garuḍa* type and their attribution, we feel, needs a fresh analysis.[7]

1. Levi, S., *JA*, CCIII, pp. 201 ff; Saraswati, R., *IA*, LII, pp. 181 ff; Altekar, A. S. *JBORS*, XIV, pp, 223 ff; ibid., XV, pp. 134 ff; Bannerji, R. D., *AIG*, pp. 26 ff; Bhandarkar, D. R., *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, pp. 189 ff; Jayaswal, K. P., *JBORS*, XVIII, pp. 17 ff; Winternitz, *Aiyanger Commemoration Volume*, pp. 359 ff; Know, Sten, *JBORS*, XXIII, pp. 444 ff; Mirashi, V.V., *IHQ*, X, pp. 48 ff; ibid., *IA*, LXII, pp. 201 ff; Dasgupta, N., *IC*, IV, pp. 216 ff; Raghavan, V., *BHU Magazine*, II, pp. 23 ff; Raichaudhuri, H. C., *PHAI*, p. 465 n. 1; Chattopadhyaya, S., *The Early History of North India*, pp. 164 ff.
2. *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, pp. 103-111, pl. IX. 1-6 This number of the *Journal* also contains the views of A. S. Altekar and A. K. Narain. Altekar supported Gupta's contention.
3. *JNSI*, XIII, pt. II, pp. 128-30, pl. VIII. 1-9.
4. *JNSI*, XVIII, pt. I, pp. 108-9, pl. VIII. 1.
5. Ibid., p. 109.
6. *JNSI*, XXIII, pp. 340-344.
7. Some notes inspired by this type have already been published which will be referred at appropriate places in this note.

The new coins of Rāmagupta,[1] like the pieces known earlier, were discovered from Vidiśā and Eraṇ. Bajpai asserts their attribution to Rāmagupta, the eldest son (?) of Samudragupta primarily because the obverse of his new *Garuḍa* type contains a figure of the bird with outstreched wings, which appears to him similar to the *Garuḍadhwaja* of the Gupta gold coins.

Samudragupta had many sons and grandsons, and to Bajpai, Rāmagupta of the literary tradition was one of these. But this statement of Eraṇ stone insçription[2] is a vague expression, and hence not much can be safely made out of it. In its vagueness, it is comparable to the reference, in the Allahabad Pillar inscription[3] of his nomination by Chandragupta I which made the faces of other princes of equal birth pale. However, that Samudragupta did not feel it necessary to mention any of his many sons and grandsons by name is an interesting point to note. Probably this neglect or omission was deliberate, because Samudragupta in his old age was staying in his pleasure town (*Svabhoganagara*) probably un-accompanied by his sons and grandsons, who were, therefore, just casually mentioned. Further, if the expression *tat-parigrihītena* for Chandragupta II, mentioned in Mathura stone inscription of Chandragupta and Bhitarī and Bihar inscriptions of Skandagupta, really refers to his nomination to the Gupta throne by Samudragupta, naturally then Rāmagupta's coming to power will imply a war of succession between the two prospective successors, which, however, is unevidenced even otherwise except by the traditional accounts associated with their names.

The capital of Samudragupta was probably Pāṭaliputra. If Rāmagupta really was his elder son and thus his lawful successor, then in the natural course he should have followed his father in the main seat of the kingdom at Pāṭaliputra and his numismatic activity should have come into existence there and not at Vidiśā or Eraṇ. And as his coins indicate, prabably he got enough time to issue them—for being in currency in a distant province of the kingdom—in imitation of the local coinage of that region i.e. eastern Mālavā.[4] Under these conditions, Rāmagupta should also have issued coins in gold

1. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 340 ff.
2. Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions*, p. 261.
3. Ibid., p. 255.
4. All scholars who have so far discussed the coins of Rāmagupta admit that his coins were issued in imitation of the local Mālava coins. Cf. P.L. Gupta, *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, p. 104; Altekar, ibid., p. 106; A. K. Narain, ibid., p. 110; H. V. Trivedi, *JNSI*, XIII, pt. II, p. 129. Bajpai, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 342; Altekar, *The Coinage of Gupta Empire*, p. 163.

but no such coins are available.[1] And if really Rāmagupta ruled for a little "longer than is generally believed"[2] the lack of his gold coinage becomes still more curious. The difficulty in explaining this problem was felt even by Altekar, and he observed that "Rāmagupta's coins need not have travelled from Pāṭaliputra to Bhilsā; they could easily have gone there from Erakiṇa which ... was definitely included in the dominions of Samudragupta."[3] Probably it was this statement which induced Bajpai to think that "Rāmagugta may have been appointed in the eastern Mālavā, during the life-time of his father, to look after this newly conquered region, where his coins have been found. The unsteady political condition of the time, as revealed from various sources, may have compelled Rāmagupta to stay in Mālavā even after the death of his father."[4] But this is not tenable. In the life-time of Samudragupta, this region was under the Sanakānīkas,[5] and the Udaigiri inscription of G. E. 82 of Mahārāja Sanakānīka[6] refers to his father and grandfather as *mahārāja* Vishṇudāsa and *mahārāja* Chhagalaga respectively. We know from Allahabad pillar inscription that Samudragupta had vanquished the Sanakānīkas along with other republican peoples. Probably he appointed either of the first two Sanakānīka chiefs, most probably Vishṇudāsa, as his governor over eastern Mālavā. The statement showing (**अनेक भ्रष्टराज्योत्सन्न राजवंशप्रतिष्ठापन —**, Sircar, p. 258) the re-installation of many kings (probably in their own kingdoms) may hypothetically be taken to show the establishment also of the Sanakānīka chief in the provincial seat at eastern Mālavā. Possibly hence after, the affairs of that region continued to be in the hands of the Sanakānīkas, at least upto the reign of Chandragupta II.

Bajpai also tries to confirm the literary story of Rāmagupta and the protection of his wife's honour from the Śaka chief by Chandragupta. He conjectures that the battle between the Śaka king and Chandragupta was fought at Vidiśā or Eraṇ,[7] and says that "the stone inscription of Śaka Śrīdharavarmā at Eraṇ and silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas found here tend to confirm this speculation."[8] But the

1. A. S. Altekar has attributed the gold coins of Kacha to Rāmagupta, see *The Coinage of Gupta Empire*, pp. 85-86, and then rejects their identity, see ibid., p. 87.
2. Sohoni, *JNSI*, XVIII, pt. II, p. 201.
3. Altekar, *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, p. 107
4. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 344.
5. R. K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, p. 48, Bombay, 1959; *The Classical Age*, p. 9, Bombay, 1962.
6. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 271.
7. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 344.
8. Ibid.

evidences cited in confirmation of the said speculation do not appear to be correct and critically examined. Śrīdharavarman cannot be made a contemporary of Chandragupta II and his supposed elder brother Rāmagupta, because, according to the readings of R. D. Bannerji[1] and D. C. Sircar,[2] Śrīdharavarman's inscription is to be dated in c. 279 A. D. According to N. G. Majumdar,[3] he flourished about forty years later, i. e. in c. 306 A. D. Marshall (*Monuments of Sanchi*, vol. I, pp. 392-3) dates the inscription concerned in 319 A. D. The inscription refers to its king's 13th 'regnal' year which means his independent rule started from c. 306 A. D. In this epigraph, Śrīdharvarman is styled as *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, indicating that earlier in life, he had served some king (?) as his General ; and he would not have been appointed a General all of a sudden. His promotion to this high rank implies considerable experience and duration of service in his master's army. Our conjecture finds support also in the fact that his father Śaka Nanda is mentioned as a commoner, without any decorative titles. Under these circumstances, we think that Śrīdharavarman could have become *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* only at the age of 35, after which he must have taken another 5 years, at least, to muster enough power to become an independent ruler. And if his formal coronotion took place at the age of 40 and in c. 306 A. D., he could hardly have lived enough (i.e. more than 60 years) to become a contemporary of Rāmagupta (c. 370-75) and demand his wife. It is not known as to which of the many dates of Śrīdharavarman, Bajpai follows. Probably he prefers the date suggested by Mirashi according to whom the inscription records the year 102, possibly of the Kalachuri-Chedi era.[4]

It may be pointed out that Mirashi's ascription of the date to Kalachuri-Chedi era was purely a conjecture, and, we feel, not much can be developed on such slender evidence.[5] Moreover, acceptance of his view makes Śrīdharavarman a contemporary of Samudragupta which is highly unlikely not only from the point of view of latter's claim of widespread conquests as well as the statement in his Eraṇ inscription[6] that his military feats gave nightmare to his enemies but also the fact that Sridharavarman himself does not make any special claim to greatness in his dedicatory epigraph. Further, it would be an absured claim to call himself a *dharmavijayī* in his Kanakhera inscription if he is presumed to have invaded

1. *EI*, XVI, pp. 230 ff.
2. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 180-181.
3. *JASB*, NS, XIX, p. 343.
4. Mirashi, V. V., *CII*, IV, No. 5, pp. 13-16, pl. III A.
5. D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 181.
6. D. C. Sircar, op. cit., pp. 261-262.

Gupta territory and demanded Rāmagupta's queen in the manner narrated in the legends.

Regarding the Kshatrapa currency being prevalent in that region, cited by Bajpai as an evidence in his support, it may be pointed out that "the copper coinage of the Western Kshatrapas, which was current only in Mālavā upto c. 240 A.D., suddenly comes to an end after that year. This would, to some extent, support the theory that the Śakas lost Mālavā soon after that date."[1] The silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas of a date later than c. 240 A.D. may have just travelled to this region.

We may now examine Bajpai's contention that the appearance of lion and *Garuḍa* on the coins of Rāmagupta leaves no doubt that he was a Gupta king.[2] It may first be pointed out that the representation of these figures can not be compared with the Lion and *Garuḍa* on the coins of the imperial Guptas. The obverse figures of Rāmaguptā's coins are really very crude and much inferior in execution to those on the gold and copper coins of the Guptas. Moreover, the use of *Garuḍa* and Vaishṇavite leanings can not be said to to have been the sole monopoly of the Gupta kings.

The earlier coins of the present series were rightly shown by A. K. Narain to contain the name *Rāmaguta.*[3] Same was the case with the coins, later published by Trivedi[4] and Bajpai.[5] Similarly, of the new coins published by Bajpai[6], some (Nos. 3, 4) contain *Rā(ma)gu* or *Rāmagu*; others (Nos. 1 & 2) have *maguta.* But some coins (Nos. 8, 9 & 11) of *Garuḍa* type seem to contain *gupta* or *gupta(ḥ)*, leaving aside those which defy correct decipherment or contain only the first part of their issuer's name. Thus all the coins of Rāmagupta, known so far, fall into two clear groups. In the first are to be mentioned those coins which contain the king's name *Rāmaguta* in Prākṛit and show a lion on their obverse, and the second comprises the coins of *Garuḍa* type which seem to contain the name legend *Rāmagupta(ḥ)* in Sanskrit.

1. Altekar, *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 51.
2. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 342-3
3. *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, pp. 107-111.
4. According to Trivedi (*JNSI*, XIII, pt. II, pp. 128-30, pl. VIII. 1-9) one of his coins (No. 3) reads *magup(t)a*. But from the accompanying plate it seems that this coin really contains only *magu* and what has been taken as *p(t)a* by Trivedi, in fact, does not seem to be a letter at all.
5. *JNSI*, XVIII, pt. I, pl. VIII. 1.
6. *JNSI*, XXIII, pp. 340 ff, pl. X.

It would thus appear that Rāmagupta of Mālavā was either simultaneously issuing coins with Prākṛit or Sanskrit legends or else he started with Prākṛit and ended with Sanskrit or vice versa. But the Guptas, unlike Rāmagupta, are not known to have favoured any language but Sanskrit officially on their coins or in inscriptions.[1] Besides, the names of the Gupta kings are not found in such broken parts as *Rāma, Rāmagu, maguta* or *maguptaḥ*, even on their silver and copper coins[2] howsoever small they may be. It was so mainly because the resources of the Guptas were considerable and their mint-masters had acquired much skill in coining money. The imperfect workmanship and the style of Rāmagupta's coins, therefore, shows that he was probably a local monarch with little resources, ill-equipped mints and not much experienced mint-officers at his disposal.

Points raised above refute the identity of the Rāmagupta of copper coins with the homonymous king known from legendary accounts.

Who, then was this Rāmagupta ? Narain took him to be "a local Mālava or even a Sanakānīka (?) ruler.[3]" But it can not be so because in the Udaigiri inscription of the anonymous Sanakānīka chief—a feudatory of Chandragupta II, his father Vishṇudāsa and grandfather Chhagalaga are mentioned, and if Rāmagupta is to be taken to have been a predecessor even of Chhagalaga, as Narain probably implies, his name should have been mentioned in the inscription of his great grandson. In case he is supposed to have been a predecessor of Chhagalaga but of a different family of the same tribe, an objection remains as to why his name was Rāmagupta when in all probability the aryanisation of the Sanakānīkas took place only in the time of Chhagalaga as his name, together with that of his son, implies.

Regarding palaeography, D.C. Sircar is the only scholar in whose opinion the characters of these coins may be even of the 5th cent. A. D. In his opinion "Rāmagupta was a chief who issued coins in imitation of the Imperial Gupta money on the decline of the Guptas on the close of the 5th century A.D.",

1. A.K. Narain, refuting P.L. Gupta, remarked, "...we have not found the names of the Gupta rulers on their coins in Prakrit form," see *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, p. 110.
2. At times, however, the tiny pieces of the Gupta's due mainly to lack of space, contain their issuer's name in an abbreviated form. For instance, some coins of Chandragupta II contain *Chandra* on obverse and *Gupta* on reverse, see *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pl. XVI. 18.
3. *JNSI*, XII, pp. II, p. 111.

and the palaeography of these coins does not go against it.[1] Most of the scholars, however, believe that the palaeography of these coins is 'early Guptā'.[2] Narain says that "the letters, at least on the coins of the second group, do not appear to belong to the same time as that of Rāmagupta ; they are of a still earlier age".[3] We feel that the palaeography of the coins bearing *Rāmagupta* or *Rāmagupta(ḥ)* is similar to the letter formations pointed out by Narain as containing *magaja*[4] etc. Therefore, the coins of the said two types cannot be taken as much removed in time from one another. The Rāmagupta of these coins was in all probability an independent king of eastern Mālavā, and a contemporary of Chandragupta I. It is, however, very difficult to say whether he was a senior or a junior contemporary of Chandragupta I.

But Rāmagupta certainly was not a contemporary of Samudragupta as his name does not figure in the Allahabad inscription. Can we think on this basis that the close of Rāmagupta's career synchronised with the advent of Samudragupta? Rāmagupta could also not have been an independent contemporary of Chandragupta II, because, on the basis of the available material, we know that Chandragupta II captured and upheld a large part of the Mālavā region, and had Rāmagupta been there during the campaigns of the former, his name must have been referred to in the inscriptions of Chandragupta's officers.

1. D. C. Sircar, *Journal of the Indian History*, XL, pt. III, pp. 533 ff. Following Sircar, Nisar Ahmad also assigns these coins to 5th century A. D. and elaborating the original suggestion of Narain, he identifies Rāmagupta with the successor of the anonymous Sanakānika Mahārāja under Kumāragupta I, see *JNSI*, XXV, pt. I, pp. 106-7.
2. *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, p. 104 ; ibid, p. 106 ; *JNSI*, XIII, pt. II, p. 129 ; *JNSI*, XVIII, pt. I, pp. 108-9 ; *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 342.
3. *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, p. 109, and pp. 110-111. Unlike A.K. Narain's readings of some coins of P. L. Gupta, we feel, all the coins contain parts of *Rāmaguta*.
4. See the preceding footnote.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE COINAGE OF THE HŪṆAS[1]

RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

No efforts have hitherto been made to present a systematic account of the coinage of the Hūṇas who played such an important part not only in the history of India but also in the world. Their antiquity is vouchsafed in the epics and in the *Vishṇupurāṇa*.[2] They influenced the course of Indian history in the first half of the sixth century A. D. and they seem to have been absorbed in the Indian population afterwards. They were pastmaster in imitation and their coin-types are the best examples of such imitation. A study of the Hūṇa coinage is full of interesting and obscure points and as such there are immense possibilities of a scientific numismatic research in this field. The Hūṇa coins are replete with ticklish problems still baffling all scholarly ingenuity. They seem to have brought to India the Sassanian style of coinage which was prevalent in Gujarat and Rajaputana[3] till about 1000 A. D. They generally imitated the coinage of the kings they annihilated and the places they ransacked. In India, they imitated the coins of their conquered territories which is evident from the numerous coins that have been found at Chiniot and Shāhakoṭa.[4] They did not invent any new design and all their coins hitherto discovered and published testify to our point of view.

The money economy was a factor to be reckoned with in the early parts of the fourth-fifth-sixth centuries A. D. in India. The very fact that the Guptas had a well-organised currency is indicative of the fact that money economy was a very important factor. Even prior to the Guptas, the Kushāṇas, and later the Kidāra Kushāṇas, had organised currency and that was responsible for the growth of trade and commerce in these regions. The disturbing Hūṇa raids over the peaceful trading routes of Central Asia had possibly started in about the fourth century A. D.[5] These raids were practically responsible for the baser gold coins of the Kidāra Kushāṇas. It has been held

1. For the Hūṇas—see R. K. Choudhary, 'The Hūṇa Invasion of India' in the Altekar Commemoration Volume of the *JBRS*, XXXXV, (1959).
2. Wilson's edition (1840), pp. 177, 194.
3. R. K. Choudhary, op. cit.
4. *JASB*, 1894, pt. I.
5. *ARASI*, 1913-14, pp. 50-51.

that the commercial activities of the valley of Kashmir ebbed with the rise of the Hūṇas. In view of their disturbing raids and depredations over the overland trade routes in Central Asia and adjoining territories, important routes had to be closed. Naturally therefore there was reversion to agriculture and that consequently led to the establishment of feudalism in the valley. With the fall of the Kushāṇas in about 300 A. D., the influence of the Sassanids was felt throughout Afghanistan for about four centuries and during this period the Hūṇas made their apearance and the whole of Afghanistan including Kashmir was convulsed. The Hūṇas had their settlements near Ghazni and they were known as *Zbulis* or *Zavalis* or *Zāvali*.

The legends on their coins like *Śāhi*, *Shānśāh*, *Khautai*, *bāgo*, *büzurga*, etc. are indicative of the fact that their language belonged to the Iranian stock.[1] Even the names Toramāṇa and Mihirakula are said to have Iranian tinge. The *Lalitavistara* refutes the Chinese contention that the Hepthalites had no written character. The *Lalitavistara* refers to *Hūṇalipi* and on the coins of the Khionites—Hepthalites we have scripts in partly looped and elongated character.[2] The two Hūṇa inscriptions have come to light from Afghanistan[3] and some of the manuscripts in Hepthalite characters are said to have been preserved in Berlin (*Klio*—N.S., 1951, pp. 41-69). In the Kura inscription[4], Toramāṇa designates himself as *Tsavala* or *Jauvala* and so does Mihirakula in the Uruzgan inscription.[5] The Arab writers identify Zabulistan with Afghanistan or the land of the Zabuls. On the Horseman and Sassanian types of the silver coins of Toramāṇa, *Jaübla*, *Jabula* and *Jabubla* are mentioned (*Transactions of the Ninth Congress of the Orientalists*, 1892, p. 235ff). On the Epthalite coins, these terms are mentioned in Persianised form as *Zabol* (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1894, pp. 276-8). All these are sufficient to show that the Hūṇas were acquainted with the alphabet and they went on accepting the written characters and legends of the countries they conquered.[6] A king of the name Rāmānīla or Ramanila of Zabula is known to us from the coins and Ghirs-

1. Cf. O. G. Von Wesendonl, 'Kushan, Chioniten and Hepthaliten', *KLIO*, 1933, p. 345.
2. H. Junger, *Die Hepthalitische Munzinschriften* (Berlin, 1930); cf. *JAOS*, 1944, pp. 1-3; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 102.
3. *JRAS*, 1954, pp. 112 ff; *EI*, I, p. 239; Choudhary, op. cit.
4. *JRAS*, 1954.
5. Ibid.
6. Cf. *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest), I, pp. 141-188, where Louis Ligeti discusses the question of the language of the Hūṇas; R. K. Kavi (ed.), *Chaturbhāṇī*, p. 15; cf. the edition of V. S. Agrawal and Motichandra, pp. 181-182. Here we get an account of the brutality of the Hūṇas.

man identifies this king with Toramāṇa.[1] The Hūṇa influence was so great in western India that a Tomara chief (in one of the inscriptions of Mahendrapāla I) calls himself a *Jauvala* or *Jāula.*[2] The Hūṇas were known by the designation of *Jauvala.* Two silver coins (edited by A. K. Narain) of the coin cabinet of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Hindu University, Banaras,[3] are attributed to the Hūṇas and one of them bears the legend *Jayatu Yabu(pu) sara.* The reverse of that coin shows traces of altar in the centre with attendants on either side. Narain holds that the type of the sun standard is not found on any Epthalite coins, though there is something like it on one of the coins examined by Cunningham.[4] It may be mentioned here that the Hūṇas are described as sun-worshippers by the Chinese travellers.[5] On the basis of the above two coins, we further learn that Toramāṇa was also known as *Shāh Jauvala, Javula* or *Javuvla. Jabusara* was only a variant of a title of the same name applied to Toramāṇa. The legend has no doubt Sassanian influence on it. V.A. Smith has published a copper coin of Toramāṇa with solar wheel and the Brāhmī legend *Tora.*[6]

Most of the Hūṇa kings are known to us from their coins. They are known to have ruled over parts of Afghanistan, Kashmir and the Punjab. Their coins with different name-endings have been discovered from the Punjab. Some such coins (with *Āditya* name-ending) were published by James Princep.[7] The Hūṇas, under Lae-Lih (according to the Chinese sources), wrested Gandhara from the Kidāra Kushāṇas. The Lae-Lih of the Chinese sources is identified with Lakhana Udayāditya of the Punjab coins, though it is doubted by some scholars.[8] Whitehead, in his study of the Hūṇa coinage,[9] has shown that there is either Pahlevi legend or a few Brāhmī legends on the coins of early Hūṇas and also some Hindu symbols like conch etc. It is a fact that Toramāṇa and Mihirakula did not adopt any such title as Udayāditya or so but that does not preclude the possibility of the Hūṇas adopting such titles later on when they were completely Hinduised in course of their Indian campaign. Among the Punjab Hūṇa

1. *Les Chionites Hepthalites*, p. 35.
2. L. V. Pouissim, *Dynasties et histoire de Inde depuis Kaniṣka Jusqu'aux invasions Mussalmans*, p. 123 ; Choudhary, op. cit.
3. *JNSI*, XI, pp. 141 ff.
4. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 252-53, 283 ; cf. Princep, *Indian Antiquities*, I, p. 412.
5. Beal, II, pp. 284-85 ; Choudhary, op. cit.
6. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, I, pp. 232, 235 (pl. XXXV-4).
7. Princep, *Essays*, I, p. 411.
8. *JNSI*, IX, pt. I, p. 15.
9. *JASB*, 1913, pp. 481 ff.

coins published by Hoernle,[1] there were some coins of Mihirakula counterstruck by the legend Toramāṇa. There is no doubt that the coin under reference is problematic in the sense that Toramāṇa is shown after Mihirakula. Whether Mihirakula had a son of that name or there was another king of the name of Toramāṇa, it is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge.

Altekar examined some Hūṇa coins of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and came to the conclusion that Toramāṇa borrowed Sassanian type in Afghanistan, Gupta type in India and Kushāṇa type in Kashmir. In the third coin of the museum examined by Altekar, there is *Jaya* on the reverse which according to Altekar is not found on seven of the early coins of Toramāṇa. Altekar suggests that these coins were issued by the rulers of the Karakoṭa dynasty of Kashmir in the seventh century A.D. and not by the Hūṇa Toramāṇa.[2] He arrives at the conclusion that Toramāṇa types were issued in copper by the Karakoṭas. According to the Kashmir chronicler, Śrīvara, the name of Toramāṇa continued to be minted down to the time of Husan Shah (1472-1485).[3] All Toramāṇa copper coins of Kashmir are written in Brāhmī characters of the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. On the authority of the *RT*, it is asserted that this Toramāṇa of Kashmir was different from his Hūṇa namesake and probably belonged to the Kidāra Kushāṇas.[4] Whatever might be the identity of this Toramāṇa, it seems plausible to agree with Cunningham that the Toramāṇa types of coins were originally struck by the Hūṇa Toramāṇa.[5] It may be mentioned in this connection that in the *Indian Musenm Catalogue* (Plate XXVII, 2-3), the word *Kidāra* is absent. Both the Toramāṇa issues and other issues of the Karakoṭas are supposed to have in the obverse the word *kidāra* or simply *ki* but we are not very definite on this point.[6] A large number of copper coins with the legend of Toramāṇa were current upto the end of the Hindu rule in Kashmir and the date of its initial circulation might go back to the sixth century A.D. Copper coins of Toramāṇa were discovered along with the coins of the muslim Sultans of Kashmir at Avantipur.[7]

1. *PASB*, 1885, pp. 4-7.
2. *JNSI*, XI, p. 58.
3. Stein, *RT*, II, p. 315; for the Hūṇa coins in the British Museum, *JNSI*, XXIII, pp. 456 ff.
4. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 88-90.
5. Ibid.
6. S. C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, pp. 33 ff; *JNSI*, XIV, p. 152; XII, pp. 152 ff.
7. *ARASI*, 1913-14; *Śrīpratāpa* legend Kashmir coins have been found in Monghyr, Patna, parts of U. P. and Madhya Pradesh, vide, *JNSI*, X, pp. 30-32.

The Hūṇas continued to rule Kashmir even when they were driven out of a major portion of India. In 520 A.D., Sung-Yun reached Trans-Oxiana and there he found the Hepthalite Sultan seated on a golden throne in his felt tent, accepting gifts brought to him from forty countries which his armies had conquered in a number of invasions.[1] It leads to conclude that Mihirakula was a powerful ruler and his conquest of Gandhara was a reality by now. Mihirakula's rule in Kashmir seems to have continued further by other Hūṇa rulers as some names disclose foreign identity. A unique silver coin with the legend *Devaśāhikhiṅgila* is an unmistakable proof of the Hepthalite rule.[2] He is identified with Lakhan Harendrāditya of Kalhaṇa who possibly ruled after 550 A.D. A coin of Lakhana Udayāditya was noticed in the Punjab.[3] Kalhaṇa mentions a king of that name belonging to the Hūṇa stock but his *biruda* was Narendrāditya and not Udayāditya as we find in the Punjab coins. Cunningham identified Lakhana Narendrāditya with Udayāditya who struck silver coins of epthalite Hūṇa type.[4] Stein has also given a detailed description of the various types of the alleged Kashmirian Hūṇa coins.[5]

From the *RT*, it is evident that the Hūṇas continued to influence the history of Kashmir even after Mihirakula. Hiraṇyakula, Vasukula and Toramāṇa look like Hūṇa names. They seem to have been hinduised Hūṇa princes. According to Kalhaṇa, Vasukula was succeeded by Mihirakula, who was noted for his cruelty and ruthlessness. He is said to have massacred innumerable persons and inflicted a crushing defeat on the king of Ceylon. Some of his supernatural deeds also find place in the *RT*. We are not concerned with the historicity of Kalhaṇa's statement here except to the extent it helps us in studying the numismatic problems of the Hūṇas. Kalhaṇa's description of Mihirakula as a devotee of Śiva receives confirmation from his coins which contain in them the theriomorphic representation of Śiva.[6] His Śaivite leaning is also known to us from his other coins where the *Triśūla* and the *Nandi* appear and the legends read as *Jayatu Vrishabhadhwaja*.[7] Disalkar,[8] on an examination of the Gaḍhia copper coins, has also tried to prove that the Hūṇa coinage was nothing more than a rude

1. Foucher, *Iranian Civilisation*, p. 297 ; cf. *History of Pusto Literature*, II.
2. P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 74 ; Choudhary, op. cit.; *Later Indo-Scythians*, pl. VII. 11.
3. *JNSI*, IX, pt. I, p. 15.
4. *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 97, 111.
5. *RT*, III, p. 383 fn.
6. *Indian Museum Catalogue*, I, pl. XXV. 5.
7. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 27 ; *RT*, I, p. 306.
8. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 66 ff.

copy of the Sassanians. Bühler held that there were two Toramāṇas and Mihirakulas,[1] first of the Kura inscription and another of tha Eraṇ inscription. Since the clarifications regarding these points have been elaborately discussed by me in my recent paper, 'The Hūṇa Invasion of India', I do not want to repeat them here. The latest note on the Hūṇa coinage is by A.K. Narain, who has recently published nine copper coins of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula.[2] Notable among the collection are (i) a restruck coin of Toramāṇa (No. 4) and (ii) Toramāṇa coins overstruck by Mihirakula (No. 5). In this connection it may be mentioned that these coins too were discovered from the Punjab. There is nothing specific in these coins since most of the varieties are well known. All the Punjab Hūṇa coins exhibit Sassanian bust and the Brāhmī legend.

The Hūṇas do not seem to have invented any new variety or any new type. The coins, discovered so far, do not show any specific type that might be attibuted to the Hūṇa origin, though the Toramāṇa types of Kashmir influenced the coinage of that area for a pretty long time. Their coinage shows influence of the Sassanians, the Kidāra Kushāṇas, the western Kshatrapas, the Guptas and the Maukharis. Silver and copper were used by them. The imitation is no doubt rude and sometimes clumsy. Bull and peacock have been used as symbols on their coins. We know that the Maukharis continued to use the Gupta Era. The dates on Harsha's coins are reckoned in a new era established by himself in 606 A. D. It is striking testimony to the havoc wrought by the Hūṇa invasion (Rapson-*Indian Coins*, p. 34). It should be noted here that in the field of coinage, the Hūṇas left no legacy behind unless the small coins which record the names of six Nāga princes of Narwar (northern Rajputana) may have been derived from it. The degenerate base pieces served as currency for the early Rajputs for centuries. They preserve the thin flat fabric but the head on the obverse and the fire altar on the reverse become more debased. The Gaḍhiya coins, circulated down to a later period, show traces of Sassanian origin and may therefore be ascribed to the Hūṇas. The silver coins of Toramāṇa have same legend as that on the coins of Buddhagupta. Mihirakula is credited with having built a Śiva temple in Kashmir (Kalhaṇa). The epigraphic and the numismatic sources go to show that the Hūṇas were Śaiva. The Chinese sources testify to the fact that Mihirakula loved to worship demons on account of his association with Śiva. Kalhaṇa compares Mihirakula with the God of destruction. The sun standard on some of the

1. *EI*, I, p. 239.
2. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 41 ff.

coins of Toramāṇa may be an allusion to his preference for solar worship. On one of his coins, we find a solar wheel. The craftmanship of the Hūṇa coinage was much below the standatd set by the Kushāṇas and the Guptas and even their crude imitation was rather vague. The question of any originality of design does not arise and we see that their busts are coarse and brutal to the last degree.

ABBREVIATIONS :

JBRS—Journal of the Bihar Research Society.

JASB (*PASB*)—Journal (Proceedings) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

ARASI—Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.

JAOS—Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JNSI—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

Beal—S. Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World.

RT—Rājataraṅgiṇī.

EI—Epigraphia Indica.

SOME NOTABLE MUGHAL COINS IN THE STATE MUSEUM OF LUCKNOW, Part I

C. R. SINGHAL

While examining the coins in this museum, I have come across several important and unpublished coins which are being described in this paper for the information of the students of Mughal numismatics.

1. A Remarkable Rupee of Akbar from the Delhī Mint

This rupee was received as treasure trove from the Farrukhābād district of U. P. in the year 1933. It bears the following legend :

In a square with a dotted square outside, on a floral ground,

Obv. الله اكبر
ضرب دهلى

Rev. الهى ٣٥
جل جلاله

Square shape, size. 0.65″, weight 170 grains.

We know that Akbar's Ilahi Era was introduced in the 30th year of his reign corresponding to 993 H = 1585 A. D. He issued both round and square in silver but only round in gold. The inscriptions on these coins indicate the religious change of the time. The muslim profession of Faith and the four Khalifas with their virtues had disappeared and their place was taken over by the new Ilahi formula الله اكبر جل جلاله "God is most great, eminent is his glory."

All Ilahi coins of Akbar are of fine and clear workmanship and dies were specially made according to the exact size of the flan so that complete legends may appear on the coins.

The Ilahi Era was used by Akbar's successors viz. Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān and Murād Bakhsh also.

These rupees were issued in the following varieties :

(a) **Obv.** الله اكبر
جل جلاله

Rev. The Ilahi year, name of the Persian month, and the mint.

(b) The above formula with the mint. **Rev.** The Ilahi year and the month only.

The mintless coins were issued in these varieties :

(a) **Obv.** الله اکبر **Rev.** Ilahi year and جل جلاله

(b) As above only جل جلاله

It can be seen that our specimen is different from the above known varieties of these coins.

It has first half of the formula and the mint Dehlī on the obverse and the second half of the formula with 35 Ilahi year on the reverse and hence this is a new variety of the Ilahi square rupees of Akbar issued from the Dehlī mint.

At p. lxxv of *PMC*, Whitehead has described a similar rupee said to be in the collection of the British Museum. But it is not to be found in the *BMC*. Apart from that the Ilahi date 35 on our specimen is inscribed in a different manner.

Another specimen of the same variety is described at No. 104 of the Supplement to Vol. III of *IMC*, by S. Ahmad.

2. New Dāms of Akbar of Ujainpur Mint

Ujain, the ancient capital of the province of Mālwa, was conquerred by Akbar in 968 H and it became the head-quarters of a *Sarkar*. In silver the earliest known coin of Akbar is No. 160 of year 968 H in the Panjab Museum. Ilahi type rupees were also issued in the 42nd and following years of Akbar's reign.

But in copper No. 526 of *IMC* is the only known *dām* of Akbar dated 968 H. It weighs 299 grs. The mint name is Ujain and not Ujainpur.

Following are the new *dāms* in the collection of this Museum. They all weigh about 300 grs. each.

	Obv.	Rev.
Register No. 10034	اکبر شاہی اجین پور ضرب	× ۴۲ الہی ماہ بہمن

Register No. 10035 „ ×۵ الہی

„ 7810 „ ×۱۴ الہی
فروردی

„ 10049 اجین پور / فلوس — شش / نود / نهصد و / فی ۹۶(۹)

M.M.13 of *LMC* on both the sides.

3. Two Important Copper Coins of Akbar

While examining a hoard of 1050 copper coins received from the Kānpur district in the year 1956, following important coins of Akbar were discovered in this hoard.

(1) Mint Lahor. Date 964 H. Wt. about 320 grs.

Obv. بتاریخ / فلوس لاهور / (ضرب) **Rev.** چهار و / شصت / نهصد و / سنه ۹۶۴

Akbar ascended the throne in 963 H and this is the earliest dated coin from this mint. His copper coinage of this mint dates from 977 H and no coin of earlier date is known to us so far. Another specimen of the same type is published at No. 251 of the Supplement to Vol. III of *IMC* by S. Ahmad and is illustrated at plate I of that book.

(2) Mint Bakkhar. Date 984. Wt. about 320 grs.

Obv. فلوس / سکه / بکهر / ضرب **Rev.** چهار / هشتاد / (و) / نهصد و / سنه ۹۸۴

M. M. 4 at (a)

Whitehead says "Bhakkar, a fortress on an island of the river Indus, was one of the *Sarkārs* in the province of Multān. It was captured for the emperor Akbar in A.H. 981, and is given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as a mint for copper only. Akbar's *dāms* of Bhakkar are very scarce." One such *dām* was published by Oliver (*JASB*, 1886) but the unit of the date was wanting on that coin. The other figures were 98. On our specimen, the date in words as well as in figures is quite clear. On all other coins this mint is generally written as Bhakhar or Bhakkar but on our specimen it is inscribed as Bakkhar which is a novel feature of this coin.

4. A Unique Couplet Rupee of Jahāngīr of Āgra Mint

The students of Mughal numismatics who had an opportunity of handling the mintages of this emperor must have been impressed with their exquisite workmanship and highly ornamental designs carved on his coins. During his reign, Jahāngīr had introduced many innovations on his coins and most remarkable amongst these were his gold and silver coins inscribed with zodiacal signs. These coins have been the cravings of all the individuals and at all times.

On the coins which are being described below, Jahāngīr has styled himself as شاه بحروبر i.e. the king of the Land and the Sea.

The coin which forms the subject of this paper was received as treasure trove from the Jhānsī district in the year 1944. This rupee is of dumpy and round shape, measuring 0.7″ and weighing 171 grains.

The legend on this coin which is on a plain surface runs as under :

Obv.

بحر و بر
شاه
زد در ماه
سکه آذر
باگره

Rev.

اکبر
ابن شاه
جهانگیر
زمان شاه
شهنشاه
۱۰۱۹

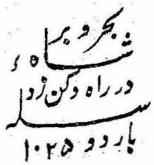
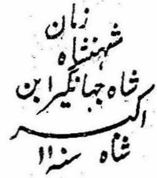
The couplet is

باگره سکه زد در ماه آذر شاه بحر و بر
شهنشاه زمان شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

A highly ornamental and a heavy weight coin but in gold bearing the same legend was described by Whitehead

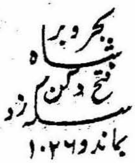
at p. 139 of *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. III (5th series). Two more rupees bearing the same title but issued from two different mints are also known. They are :

(a) N. 1280 of Lucknow Museum catalogue which bears the following legend :

Obv.  Rev. 

(b) No. 118 of Whitehead published at p. 146 of the same volume of *Numismatic Chronicle.*

The legend on this coin is inscribed in this fashion :

Obv. Rev. 

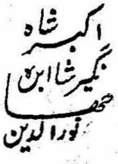
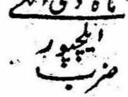
It may be observed that the legend شہنشاہ زمان is inscribed in three different fashions on these coins. The title of بحرو بر was also adopted by his successors namely Farrukhsiyar and Raf'iu-d-Darjāt on their coins.

In my opinion, the obverse and reverse legends on the above coin should inter-change, without which the couplet cannot be read in a proper manner.

5. A Unique Rupee of Jahāngīr of Elichpūr Mint

This rupee was received as treasure trove from the Āgra district in 1926.

Round shape, weight 175grs. Size 0.7″. Date Dī Ilahi. It bears the following legend :

Obv.  Rev. 

Ordinary *Kalima* type rupees of Jahāngīr issued from this mint are known but no rupee of this type is published so far and hence this is a unique specimen of Jahāngīr of this mint. Unfortunately the Ilahi year is missing on this coin. Only a few rupees of Akbar of جل جلاله type with Ilahi years are known of this mint (vide *LMC* No. 321 and 322). We know that Elichpūr was the capital of the Imād Shāhī dynasty, which ruled in Berār between 1482 and 1572 A. D. This province was conquered by Akbar in the 31st year of his reign. Aurangzeb and his successors issued a large number of shapeless copper coins of degraded design from this mint.

6. The Coins of Empress Nūrjahān

The students of Mughal numismatics are fully aware that a large number of coins were issued by this Indian queen in the joint names of herself and her husband towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign. In 1929, Hodivāla wrote an illuminating article[1] on these coins and listed all the known specimens with their mints and dates. His interesting comments about these coins are quoted here :

"The coins of the Empress Nūrjahān are among the most remarkable curiosities of the Mughal series and have always possessed a considerable attraction for historians and numismatists. For this interest, they are indebted not only to the fact of their providing the only known examples of the appearance of the name of a Queen-consort on the currency of the Musalman rulers of this country, but to the halo of romance which surrounds the legend of her birth in circumstances of abject poverty, the rapid rise of her father to greatness, prince Salīm's infatuation with her young beauty, the tragical fate of her first husband and the web of enchantment and intrigue which she succeeded in weaving round the head and heart of her second."

About the number of such coins, Hodivāla says :

1. "The persistent search of scores of enthusiastic collectors has resulted in the discovery of about two hundred specimens of these issues in the course of a century and they cover a period of not more than four years."

2. "The earliest coins bearing her name are dated 1033-XIX, and may be justly said to mark her arrival at the zenith of her power."

3. "The earliest coins of the Sūrat mint show the date 1033-XIX."

1. *Numismatic Supplement*, XLII, p. 59.

During the course of my examination of these coins in this museum, I have discovered some coins with new features and on the basis of which, the above observations of Hodivāla can be modified to some extent.

1. My enquiries have revealed that the number of such coins which was estimated by Hodivāla at about two hundred in 1929 has considerably increased. We can now change that figure to about four hundred because more and more specimens are coming to light every day.

2. Her earliest coin in this collection bears the date 1032 H and hence these issues ranged from 1032 to 1037 H and not from 1033 to 1037 as stated by Hodivāla.

3. The earliest coin of the Sūrat mint in this collection is of 1032 H and not 1033 as stated by him.

4. Under the Āgra mint, the issues of 1034-XIX and 1036-XXI bear new dates. These were not included in his list. The coins are in excellent mint condition.

5. Some half rupees of this variety were also issued by Nūrjahān. Three of the Sūrat and one of the Patna mint are included in our catalogues. But Hodivāla has remained silent about the half rupees of this queen.

7. A Unique Half-Rupee of Shāhjahān of Ahmadnagar Mint

This coin was received as treasure trove in the year 1929 from the Agra district. It belongs to the early 'Kalima Ilahi' type and not the later 'Square areas' type rupees of Shāhjahān. It bears the date (10) 42 H.

The legend is as under :

Obv. On a floral ground.
The Kalima &

ضرب
احمدنگر الہی ۴۲(۱۰)

Rev. On a floral ground.

شاہ جہان
محمد
شہاب الدین فی
... قران ثا

weight 88 grains.

So far only eight full rupees of Shāhjahān of this mint are included in the catalogues of our Museums.

3 in the *IMC* (No. 886 to 888)
2 „ Supplement to *IMC* (No. 405 and 406)
2 „ *LMC* (No. 1863 and 1864)
1 „ *PMC* (No. 1237).

Out of these, only two specimens belong to the early and four to the later types of the rupees of Shāhjahān. No. 405 and 406 of the Supplement to *IMC* belong to other two unknown varieties of this mint. But half rupees of Shāhjahān in any variety are not known to us and hence this is a unique piece of this ruler issued from the Ahmadnagar mint in the Deccan.

8. Shāhjahān's Rupees of Katak Mint

Shāhjahān's rupees of Katak mint are extremely rare. This mint issued coins in two types—the "Kalima-Ilahi" and the "Square areas". Only five coins of the former variety—No. 960 of the Indian Museum, No. 1373 of the Panjab Museum and No. 2263, 2263a and 2263b of the Lucknow Museum are known so far. The issues of the latter variety are still rare; only two specimens, No. 2264 and 2265 dated 1069-32 H of the Lucknow Museum, being known to us.

While I was examining coins in this museum, following coins of the latter variety were found. These are listed as under :

1. **Obv.** The Kalima in a square.

Margin Top بصدق ابی بکر
Right وعدل عمر
Bottom بآزرم عثمان
Left وعلم علی

Rev. In a square

بادشاه غازی
شاه جهان

Margin
Left شهاب الدین
Top محمد صاحب
Right قران ثانی
Bottom ضرب کتک

2. **Obv.** As above but the marginal legends begin from the right. There is a sword symbol in the top margin. It is a cast coin.

Rev. As above but date
۱۰۴۲
in the lower margin.

3.	**Obv.** As on No. 1 but year ٢٩ and two pronged sowrd	**Rev.** As above but date ١٠٦٦	
4.	**Obv.** As on above but date ١٠٦٧	**Rev.** As above but year ٣٠	

From the above list, it can be seen that Hijri dates and regnal years have changed places. We know Katak is the principal town of the State of Orissa and it was annexed with Bengal by Akbar in 982 H. Square coins of Akbar both in gold and silver, few rupees of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān are known to have been issued from this mint. In 1165 H, Orissa was made over to the Marathas by treaty and remained a Maratha province till 1218 H.

9. Shāhjahān's Rupees of Lucknow Mint

With the exception of a gold coin, No. 1222 of the Panjab Museum, and a rupee, No. 541 of Supplement to Vol. III of *IMC*, no other gold or silver coins are known to have been published before. The date on No. 541 is read as 1055-9 H which does not seem to be correct. It ought to be 1055-19. In his article[1] on "The Lakhnau Mint", C. J. Brown has described one rupee said to be in the collection of H. N. Wright. That was dated 1055-19 H. Except this, no other rupee is known to us so far. While examining coins in this museum, following four rupees of Shāhjahān issued from this mint were found :

They are all of the 'square areas' type which was the commonest type of Shāhjahān. The mint name is inscribed in the bottom margin. They bear the following dates :

(1) 1045 ?–11 H. (2) 1050–13 H.
(3) –14 R. year. (4) 1056–19 H.

10. Karnātak — A New Mint of Aurangzeb

While compiling a supplementary catalogue of Mughal coins in this museum, I found two rupees of Aurangzeb, on which the mint name, after a good deal of thinking, was read as Karnātak. These rupees were issued in the 32nd year of his reign, when he was waging wars against the Marathas in the Deccan. Following information is gleaned from the history of that period :

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, page 290.

"The emperor set himself to take possession of the forts and districts of the fallen kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda.

1. *Numismatic Supplement*, XXV, p. 247.

Sāgar, Adoni, Karnūl, Raichūr, Serā and Bangalore in Mysore and Bankāpur and Belgaum in Kanara, as well as Wandiwāsh and Conjeevaram in the eastern or Madras Carnatic, were gained by his armies, in the course of a year from the fall of Golconda.

In 1689, the Marathas had been cowed by the fall of Shambhuji, the siege of their capital, and the perilous flight of their new king. Many of their forts easily fell into Aurangzeb's hands. Throughout 1690 and 1691, the emperor's chief concern was to take possession of the rich and boundless dominions of the fallen Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi kingdom in the south and the east."

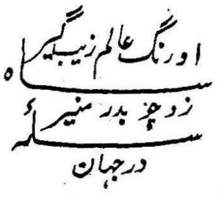
2. *A History of the Maratha People* by Kincaid and Parsnis, Vol. II, p. 47.

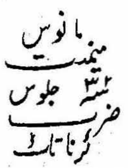
"At the end of 1687, losing for once his self-control, the emperor vowed in a passion that he would not return to Dehli until he had seen Sambhaji's bleeding head weltering at his feet. Nor was he long content with mere threats of vengeance. In February 1688 twelve thousand Moghul horse and a large number of local levies under Muhammad Sidik entered the Carnatic sea board to drive out the Marathas. On their approach, the Marathas retired from Conjeevaram to a line of forts on both sides of the Palar river and the Mughals occupied Punamali and Wandewash."

There is no Hijri year and the regnal year 32 on these coins corresponds to 1099 to 1100 A. H. = A. D. 1687-1688. From the above account, it can safely be said that these rupees were issued from Karnātak by Aurangzeb when he defeated the Maratha forces and captured many of their important places in the Deccan. Incidentally, it may be stated that these specimens were purchased by this Museum from that eminent numismatist, H. Nelson Wright, who perhaps could not read this mint.

The coins bear the following legends :

1. **Obv.** **Rev.** Wt. 178 grams of each.





2. Same as above — Same as above but mint name written like this : کرناتک.

11. A Unique Rupee of Aurangzeb of Jaunpur Mint

The issues of Aurangzeb of the Jaunpur mint are extremely rare. Not a single specimen in any metal and in any catalogue of Mughal coins is published so far. Our specimen which comes as treasure trove from the Morādābād district was received in the year 1928 along with other rupees of Aurangzeb. It bears the usual legend of Aurangzeb with mint name as Jaunpur and date 1099-31 H.

12. Another Important Rupee of Aurangzeb issued from the Ranthambhor Mint in the Year 1099-32 H.

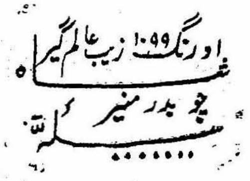
In his list of Mint Towns, Whitehead says that a coin of this mint was said to be in the collection of H. Nelson Wright but we are not aware whether this coin was ever published. The interesting feature about this and the Sāmbhar mint coin is the date. They were issued in one and the same year from two different mints in Rājpūtāna.

About this mint the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI, at p. 235 and 236, says :

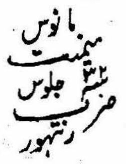
"Ranthambhor (Ranastambhapura, or "the place of the pillar of War"). Famous fort in the Sewai Madhopur Nizamat. It is situated on an isolated rock 1578 feet above sea level, and surrounded by a massive wall strengthened by towers and bastions. After passing through the hands of Iltutmish and the Khilji Kings, it was taken by Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar, but it was made over to Emperor Babar in 1528 and it passed into the possession of Akbar about 1569. In Akbar's reign Ranthambhor became the first Sarkar or division in the province of Ajmer, and consisted of no less than 83 *Mahals* or fiefs. It remained under Mughal occupation all along but towards the end of the 17th century the fort went into the possession of Jaipur State."

It bears the following legend :

Obv.



Rev.



There is another coin, No. 3397 of *LMC*, the mint name on which was read as Bhilsa ? by Brown. On careful examination, this coin also seems to be of Ranthambhor mint.

Another rupee of this mint dated 1098-30 H is described at No. 1138 of the Supplement to Vol. III of *IMC* by S. Ahmad.

13. An Important Rupee of Aurangzeb from Sāmbhar Mint, dated 1099-32 H.

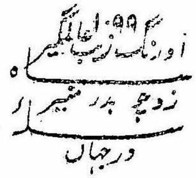
This coin was received as treasure trove from the Fatehpur district in U.P. in the year 1933.

Following information about the Sāmbhar town is found in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII, p. 21 & 22.

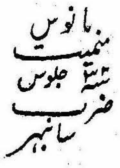
"Within the joint jurisdiction of the States of Jodhpur and Jaipur in Rajputana situated at the South-Eastern extremity of the Sambhar Lake on the Rajputana Malwa Railway, Sambhar is a very ancient town. It was the first capital of the Chauhan Rajputs when they came to Rajputana from the Ganges about the middle of the 8th century; and the last Hindu king of Delhi, Prithviraj Chauhan who died in 1192, was proud to be styled Sambhari Rao or lord of Sambhar. It appears to have been held by the Muhammadan kings and Emperors of Dehli from the beginning of the 13th century till about 1708, when it was taken with the sixty villages attached to it, by the chiefs of Jodhpur and Jaipur."

It bears the following legend :

Obv.



Rev.

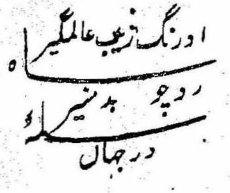


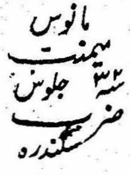
A rupee of this mint dated 1098-31 is described at No.1139 of the Supplement to Vol. III of *IMC* by S. Ahmad.

14. Sikandrah ?—A New Mint of Aurangzeb

While examining coins in this museum, I came across a rupee of Aurangzeb the mint name on which can tentatively be read as Sikandrah. It was issued in the 32nd year of his reign. According to Vol. XXII, *Imperial Gazetteer*, "Sikandra is a village in the district and tahsil of Agra, 5 miles North-West of Agra city. The village is said to have received its name from Sikandar Lodi who built a palace here in 1495. Jahangir's mother who died at Agra in 1623 is buried here; but the place is chiefly famous for the tomb of Akbar which was built by Jahāngīr and completed in 1612-3".

It bears the following legend :

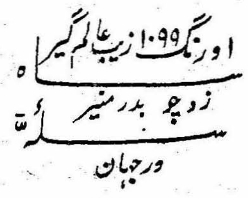
Obv. 

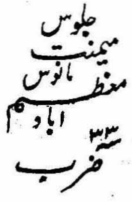
Rev. 

The coin was also purchased from H. N. Wright who could not decipher this mint.

15. Mu'azzamābād Mint of Aurangzeb

The name of Gorakhpur was changed to Mu'azzamābād by Aurangzeb in honour of his son prince Mu'azzam afterwards known as Shāh'ālam Bahādur. The coins issued from this mint are extremely rare and scarce. A gold coin of Farrukhsiyar, two gold and one silver coins of Muhammad Shah and a rupee of Aurangzeb, that is all what we know about this mint. If we confine ourselves only to Aurangzeb, then there is only one rupee of this mint dated 1097-29 H puublished by Shreenivas in the Report of the Archaeological Department of the Nizam of Hyderabad for the year 1924-25. Ours is the second specimen issued from this mint in the year 1100-33 H. Following is the legend on this coin :

Obv. 

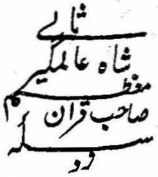
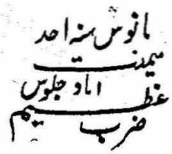
Rev. 

16. Rupees in the Name of Mu'azzam Shāh

We know that the princely name of Shāh'ālam Bahādur was Mu'azzam Shāh. Just as coins were issued by Jahāngīr in his princely name of Salīm and Shāhjahān in name of Khurram, similarly rupees were issued by Shāh'ālam Bahādur also in his princely name of Mu'azzam Shāh.

Our coin was received as treasure trove from the Jalaun district in the year 1928. It is issued from the 'Azīmābād (Patna) mint in the first year of his reign.

It bears the following legend :

Obv.  Rev. 

There are only five known rupees of Mu'azzam Shāh which are listed below :

PMC No. 2037 and *IMC* No. 1708(a) both of the Tatta mint.

PMC No. 2091 of Murshidābād mint.

No. 18 on p. 658 of *Numismatic Supplement* No. XV of 'Azīmābad mint.

No. 12 on p. 13 of *Numismatic Supplement* No. XXXIX of the same mint.

Our specimen closely resembles with No. 12 of the list. The couplet on the first two specimens of the Tatta mint is entirely different and we are not concerned with that. But the couplet on the coins of Murshidābād and 'Azīmābād mints is the same and we shall say something about it. The legend which forms into this couplet is given only at the obverse side of these coins. Whitehead & Brown read this couplet as.

سکه زد برزر چو صاحب قرانی ـ معظم شاه عالمگیر ثانی

On coin No. 12 of the list, Saboor read it as :

بزر زد سکه چو صاحب قرانی ـ معظم شاه عالمگیر ثانی

But the word چو is not to be found on any of these coins. In my opinion, the couplet suggested by Saboor seems to be more metrical. On the two coins of Tatta mint Shāh'Alam Bahādur styles himself as Shāhjahān, the second while on these rupees he calls himself as 'Alamgīr, the second. This rupee was also published by Nagar at p. 224 of *JNSI*, Vol. XX.

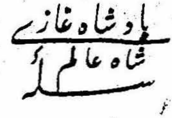
17. A Unique Rupee of Katak Mint

While working on the coins in this museum, I came across this unique rupee of Shāh'ālam I issued in the third regnal year of his reign from the Katak mint. This is an unpublished mint

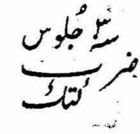
of this ruler and no coin of this type was known before. Like our previous coins, this specimen also comes as treasure trove from the Shāhjahānpūr district of U. P.

The legend is read as under :

Obv.



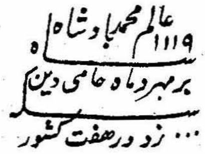
Rev.



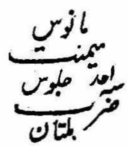
18. A Couplet Rupee of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādūr of Multān Mint

This coin was received as treasure trove from the Āgra district in the year 1958. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādūr's rupees of Multān mint are extremely rare. It seems two types of coins—one of ordinary and the other of couplet, were issued from this mint in the first year of his reign. The ordinary type is described at No. 3537 of the Lucknow Museum catalogue while a coin of the couplet type was mentioned by Whitehead at p. cix of his *Panjab Museum Catalogue.* He says "There is a remarkable rupee of Shāh 'Ālam I in the cabinet of Mr. H. Nelson Wright which bears the following inscription :

Obv.



Rev

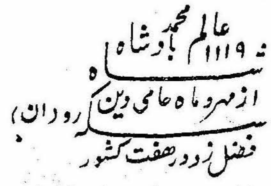


The same coin was again noticed by him at p. 437 of *JASB* for 1912 and he remarked :

"This is quite a new type of coin of Shāh 'Ālam I. The couplet strikingly anticipates that adopted by Shāh 'Ālam II and shows that both these emperors had the same *laqab.* Another coin of the same type was published by him at p. 395 of *Numismatic Chronicle,* Vol. VI (5th series) under the caption "Some Notable coins of the Mughal Emperors of India, Part II".

Therein he said "But on this coin there is an additional word at the beginning of the bottom line, and one at the end of the middle line which I cannot read. The first may be ظلل and the second ار?". I beg to suggest the revised readings of these words. The first word seems to be فضل and the second رران because ر ر is quite clear on our specimen.

As these couplet coins were money of an unauthorized and exceptional character issued by the local adherents, the word سکه روان or 'current coin' was used on these coins. The whole inscription is deciphered by me as:

Obv.  Rev. There is no dispute about the legend on the reverse.

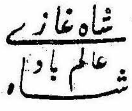
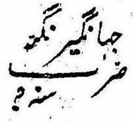
The couplet will thus be composed as:

سکۀ رواں زد در هفت کشور از فضل مهر و ماه
حامی دین محمد شاه عالم بادشاه

19. A Unique Copper Coin of Shāh Ālam I issued from the Jahāngīrnagar Mint

According to Whitehead's 'List of Mint-Towns' a similar specimen was possessed by H. Nelson Wright but we are not aware whether it was ever brought to light. In the *Panjab Museum Catalogue* a copper coin is listed at No. 2096 by Whitehead. Under the mint column he says "Probably Jahāngīrnagar" but we cannot read any mint on on his coin. So, this is a unique coin of this mint. Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan was re-named Jahāngīrnagar after the emperor Jahāngīr.

It bears the following legend:

Obv.  Rev. 

20. Important Rupees of Jahāndār Shāh

The Lucknow Museum collection possesses two extremely rare coins of Jahāndār Shāh. One of them was issued from Mustaqirrul Khilāfat Ajmer and the other from the Gwālior mints. Such coins are not represented in any of the catalogues of Mughal coins. According to Hodivāla,[1] Mustaqirrul Khilāfat was used for Ajmer during the reign of Jahāndār Shah.

1. *Numismatic Supplement*, XXXV, p. 41.

Following is the full description of these coins :

1. **Obv.** In dotted circle.

شاه جهان
سنه
قران ثانی جهاندار ۱۱۲
سکه بر زد چو ما

Rev.

مستقر الخلافه اجمیر
ضرب
میمنت مانوس
جلوس سنه احد.

2. **Obv.**

.....جهان
شاه
چون مهر و ماه ابوالفتح
سنه
در آفاق زد

Rev.

مانوس
میمنت
سنه احد جلوس
ضرب
گوالیار

21. A Unique Rupee of Rafi'-ud-Darjāt from 'Ālamgīrpūr Mint

So far, the coins of Aurangzeb, Shāh'ālam I, and Farrukh-siyar issued from this mint were published in our catalogues. Lately, two rupees of A'zam Shāh and of Jahāndār Shāh, both issued from the same mint, were published in *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, p. 77 and Vol. XXIII, p. 403 respectively. Both these coins are dated in the *ahd* year of their reign. Our coin, which was also issued in the *ahd* year, closely resembles in type and fabric with the coins of A'zam Shāh and Jahāndār Shāh published before.

'Alamgīrpūr has been identified with a town of that name neat Karnūl (Qamarnagar) in the Deccan.

Following is the legend on this coin :

Obv.

هنشه بحر و بر
شا
رفیع الدرجات
سنه

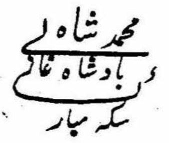
Rev.

(مانوس)
میمنت
جلوس سنه احد
ضرب
عالمگیرپور

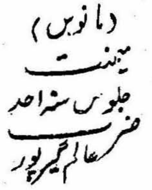
22. A Rupee of Muhammad Shāh of the Same Mint and Date as Above

A rupee of Muhammad Shāh of the same mint and issued in the 30th year of his reign was published by Whitehead at page 666 of *Numismatic Supplement* No. XV for the year 1910. But the type of this coin is entirely different from our coin. This coin was issued in the *ahd* year like our previous coin of Rafi'-ud-Darjāt and its type closely resembles with that coin. The legend on this coin reads as :

Obv.



Rev.



To sum up, we have the following coins issued from this mint in the *ahd* years of their respective reigns.

1. A'zam Shāh, mint 'Ālamgīrpūr, Date *ahd.*
2. Jahāndār Shāh ,, ,,
3. Rafi'-ud-Darjāt ,, ,,
4. Muhammad Shāh ,, ,,

The interesting feature about these four coins is their close similarity of type and the year of issue which is the same in all cases.

23. Muhammad Shāh's Rupees of Balwantnagar (Jhānsī) Mint

A rupee of the same king and mint but with date 115X-28H was published by H. N. Wright at p. 239 of *Numismatic Supplement* No. XIII. Except this, no other rapees of Muhammad Shāh of Balwantnagar mint are known to us. Recently I have found four more rupees of the same type but with different dates. These rupees were received as treasure trove from the Jhānsī district. Some rupees of Ahmad Shāh, 'Alamgīr II and Shāh 'Ālam II are also known to have been issued from this mint. The calligraphy of these coins is purely of the Mughal style without any influence of the Marathas who held this place for a long time. These rupees were issued towards the close of Muhammad Shāh's reign in 1160-29 and 1161-30 H.

The legend runs as :

	Obv.	Rev.	
1.	۱۱۶۰ محمد شاه بادشاه غازی سکه مبارک	مانوس میمنت سنه ۲۹ جلوس ضرب بلونت نگر	With four mint marks.
2.	„	„	„
3.	„	„	„
4.	„	„	„

COUNTERMARKED DURRANI AND SIKH COINS

C. H. BIDDULPH

[Plate II]

In an earlier article in the *JNSI*, Vol. XXV, Pt. I, Countermarked Mughal and Suri coins were considered, in the light of such evidence as it had been possible to examine, in an attempt to account for them.

The suggestion was made that the countermarks were Persian in origin and had been affixed to particular coins to mark periods of occupation of either Kabul or Kandahar, by their forces, following encounters with the Suris in the period when the Mughal Emperor Humayun had been defeated and lost his kingdom to Sher Shah Suri.

The countermarks invariably had the name of one or other of the two important towns mentioned, together with the word 'Adl', and in one coin a date has been added.

In describing the coins reference was made to a countermark 'Raij' within an incuse circle. It was suggested it had probably been countermarked in Afghanistan, or India, by a Persian or Afghan ruler, or that it may have been a coin of the period referred to by Claude Auguste Court in his *Itinerary of A Journey from Persia to Kabul* made in the year 1826.

In considering the countermarks found on Durrani coins, which is the subject covered by this hote, it will be seen that the countermark on this coin is almost similar to a countermarked coin of Shah Shuja. Certain Sikh copper coins of Ranjit Singh, which were countermarked and probably used in Kashmir, after its annexation by them, also have the word 'Raij' within a small incuse square and will be considered in this note.

Countermarks on Durrani coins invariably have the word 'Raij' (Current) on them, with a date or regnal year, and in a few examples the word 'Sahih' (correct, true, sound, or genuine) without a date or regnal year. In a few coins a date and regnal year are found on coins having the word 'Raij'.

The countermarks are contained in cartouches of different shapes; they are smaller and of neater execution than the countermarks on Mughal coins, described in the earlier article, and appear to have been affixed by the Durranis themselves, or by their allies, the Rohilla Chiefs; who quite frequently administered territory in India annexed by the Durranis, after

Durranis had withdrawn to Afghanistan. In certain instances the Rohillas even issued coins in the names of the Durrani rulers from mints located in and near Rohilkhand.

Confirmation in support of a Durrani, or Rohilla, origin for certain countermarked coins does appear to exist and two examples will be quoted.

Coin No. 57 on page 22 of Dr. R. B. Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. III, is a rupee of Atak mint of regnal year 19. In a footnote in connection with the coin Dr. Whitehead refers to a similar coin in the British Museum with a countermark reading 'Raij' and an illegible date. The writer has a similar rupee **(Pl. II. 1)** in which the date is clearly visible and reads A. H. 1183 with the regnal year 23. On examining the British Museum specimen it is seen that it also has the same date and regnal year. The original coins are of Ahmad Shah's reign and agree in respect of the dates and regnal years, but it is also possible the countermarks could have been made by a Rohilla ruler as Ahmad Shah's last invasion of India was in the cold weather of A. H. 1180/81 (A. D. 1766/67).

The second coin is No. 65, on page 24, of Dr. Whitehead's *Catalogue*, of Kandahar mint. The original coin must have been dated A. H. 1177 with regnal year 19 and the countermark is dated A. H. 1184. This coin must, like the first one, have either been countermarked by the Durrani ruler in Afghanistan, or, as is more likely, by a Rohilla, as it has been stated in the first instance that Ahmad Shah's last invasion of India was in A. H. 1180/81.

In this note it is proposed to describe the countermarked coins which are known to the writer and attempt to account for them from the scant information available. No claim is made that the coins described and illustrated are the only ones that exist as there must be many others that have not been published. The object in drawing attention to them is to encourage collectors, through the medium of the *Journal*, to furnish particulars of coins which do not find a place in either Dr. Whitehead's *Corpus of the Durrani Coins*, or in the British Museum collection. It is also probable other explanations may offered in support of the necessity for the countermarks and the dates occuring on them.

AHMAD SHAH. A.H. 1160-1186 (A.D. 1747-1772)

Atak (Attock).

No. 1/W. 57/B.M. Rupee. Date. ? R.Y. 19 **(Pl. II. 1)**.
Weight 171.7 grains.

Countermarked, in an ornamental cartouche, with the word 'Raij' and the date A. H. 1183, R.Y. 23.

The coin illustrated is in the writer's collection and is similar to the one referred to in Dr. Whitehead's footnote on page 22 in connection with his coin No. 57. The coin mentioned by him is in the British Museum collection and on comparing it with my coin it is obvious the dates and regnal years are identical in both coins.

This coin has been referred to earlier in the note as it establishes beyond any reasonable doubt that both coin and countermark are attributable to the Durranis, or their allies the Rohillas.

From the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* it is seen that after the murder of Alamgir II, the last real Emperor, in the year A. H. 1172/73 (A.D. 1759), Shah Alam II could not establish his authority in Delhi, which became the alternate prey of the Afghans and Marathas until the time the Marathas restored the Emperor to the city of his ancestors in A. H. 1185 (A. D. 1771).

The countermark dated A. H. 1183 could possibly refer to some incident in the recurring conflict between the Rohillas and the Marathas, when the Rohillas as allies of the Durranis, obtained control once more of Delhi and Durrani rupees from various mints were countermarked and issued in payments to the troops, or put into general circulation in the occupied territory.

Hostilities must have continued between the Durranis directly, or the Rohillas acting for them, and the Marathas even after the year A. H. 1183, as it is stated the Marathas were in occupation of the fort at Delhi as late as A.H. 1203/04 (A.D. 1788/89) and continued to hold it until the year A.H. 1218 (A.D. 1803) when it was occupied by the British under Lord Lake.

Ahmad Shahi (Kandahar).

No. 2/W. 65. Rupee. Date ? R.Y. 17.

In a footnote to coin No. 65, on page 24 of his *Catalogue*, Dr. Whitehead refers to a rupee of uncertain date but of regnal year 19, which he had seen at Bhawalpur with a countermark containing the word 'Raij' and date A.H. 1184. As the coin is not in the British Museum collection it is not possible to illustrate it. The date on the coin mentioned in the footnote should have been A. H. 1177 (A. D. 1763/64) which would correspond with the 19th year of the ruler.

Ahmad Shah issued rupees from Qandahar (Kandahar) mint from the year A.H. 1171, R.Y. 11. The name of the mint on the coins was Ahmad Shahi together with its honorific epithet Ashrafu-l-bilad (Most Noble of Cities) – (Whitehead – *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. III, page LIV of the 'Introduction'.)

Coins were issued regularly from this mint from the eleventh to twenty-sixth, or last year, of his reign. No special reason can be advanced for the countermark dated A.H. 1184 and it may be safe to assume, as in the case of the coin previously referred to of Atak mint, that this rupee, with many others, was countermarked and used in areas annexed from the Marathas.

Ahmad Shah's last invasion of India was in the cold weather of A.H. 1180/81 (A.D. 1766/67) and the countermark must, once more, have been the work of his old ally Najibu-d-Daula, the Rohilla ruler.

Anwals (Aonla).

No. 3/W.76/B.M.	Rupee. Date. ? . **R. Y. 14.** Weight 171 grains. Countermarked 'Raij' with date A. H. 1188. **(Pl. II. 2)**
No. 4/W.77/B.M.	Rupee. Date. ? . R. Y. 14. Weight 171 grains. Countermarked 'Raij' with date A. H. 1191. **(Pl. II. 3)**

Both coins are in the British Museum collection and must have been coined in A. H. 1173/74.

It has been stated previously that Ahmad's last invasion of India was in the year 1180/81 (A.D. 1766/67)-(Whitehead-Introduction, Vol. III, page XXV, para 3) and the countermarks on both these coins are dated after his death.

The years A. H. 1188 (A. D. 1774) and 1191 (A. D. 1777) are both in the reign of Timur Shah A. H. 1186-1207 (A. D. 1772-1793), but no evidence appears to be available of Timur's incursions into India in these years. The natural assumption must be that the countermarks were affixed by the Rohillas in the time of Timur Shah to extend the currency of the previous ruler's coins in Rohilkhand. There is also the possibility both dates may refer to encounters with the Marathas, who were active in the area at the time.

The countermarks may also have been affixed by Timur Shah on the coins of his predecessor, which had been issued in

India, in the same manner as he apparently countermarked dated Persian coins of Shah Rukh, A.H. 1161-1210 (A.D. 1748-1796) and Karim Khan, A. H. 1163-1193 (A. D. 1750-1779), between the years A. H. 1189-1198 (A. D. 1775-1783), with a small circular countermark bearing the word 'Raij'.

There is only one exception that I know of on a coin of Shah Rukh of Meshed mint with date A. H. 1195 (A. D. 1780/81), which is dated A. H. 1198 (A. D. 1783) and is contained within an ornamental cartouche.

There is another possibility that the Persian coins of Shah Rukh and Karim Khan may have been countermarked in Afghanistan, as described by Claude Auguste Court, and referred to in the note on "Countermarked Mughal and Suri Coins", *JNSI*, Vol. XXV, Pt. I.

Muradabad

A town in Rohilkhand. Dr. Whitehead refers to rupees dated A. H. 1173 which were stated to have been issued in the name of Ahmad Shah by his ally Najibu-d-Daula, the Rohilla ruler.

No. 5/W.234/B.M. Rupee. Date A. H. 1173. R. Y. 14.
Weight 174 grains.

The mint mark is an elongated crescent, similar to No. 16, on page 195, of Dr. Whitehead's *Catalogue.*

In a footnote on page 43, he mentions seeing a similar coin surcharged 'Raij' with date A. H. 1191. The countermarked coin is not in the British Museum, although coin No. W. 234 is in the collection.

The writer has an interesting rupee of Muradabad mint **(Pl. II. 4)** issued presumably by the Rohilla ruler Najibu-d-Daula in the name of Alamgir II, A.H. 1167-1173 (A.D. 1753-1759) dated A.H. 1172 (A.D. 1758), regnal year 6. It has part of a cartouche but the countermark is not clear, although there is sufficient visible to see the word 'Raij' formed part of it and the date may probably have been A.H. 1191, similar to the countermark seen by Dr. Whitehead on a coin in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani, dated A.H. 1173, R.Y. 14.

It will be seen that the mint-mark on my coin **(Pl. II. 4)** is typically Durrani and is similar to No. 16 referred to previously.

While this coin cannot be said to be of the Durranis it is of considerable interest as it seems to establish the Rohillas were in virtual control of areas near Delhi and were issuing rupees in the name of the Mughal ruler, following a Durrani pattern and even using a Durrani mint-mark. The rupee under

reference should have been issued before Ahmad Shah invaded India for the fifth time in the spring of A.D. 1760 (A.H.1174) (Whitehead - Part III—'Introduction', page XXXVIII).

TIMUR SHAH. A.H. 1186-1207 (A.D. 1772-1793)

Kashmir.

No. 6/W.590/B.M. Rupee. Date A.H. 1195. R.Y. 8. Countermarked with the word 'Sahih' within a cartouche which is roughly heart-shaped, with point uppermost **(Pl. II. 5)**. The countermark is enclosed in a line and chain dotted frame.

No. 7/W.597/B.M. Rupee. Date A.H. 1198. R.Y. 11. Countermarked similar to No. 6. The cartouche differs in this coin as it is single lined. **(Pl. II. 6).**

In an attempt to account for the countermark 'Sahih', which stands for correct, true, sound, or genuine, an extract from a paragraph of Dr. Whitehead's *Catalogue*, page LXI, of the 'Introduction', will be quoted as it would seem to help in explaining the necessity for the countermark. In it he refers to the discrepancies which exist between the Hijri and regnal years in the rupees from the mint at Kashmir and it is probable this may have occasioned some doubt in the minds of the people regarding the authenticity of the coins and resulted in a restriction in their circulation. The countermark would tend to dispel such doubts and may have been introduced in the nature of a guarantee.

> "Timur Such began to reign in A. H. 1186, so his first year is A. H. 1186/87 and year 10 is A. H. 1195/96. But according to the Kashmir rupees this tenth regnal year is A. H. 1197/98. Similarly year 12 is A. H. 1199/1200, year 17 is A. H. 1204/05, and year 19 is A.H. 1206/07; on these data the first regnal year should be A. H. 1188/89. All the catalogue rupees on which both Hijri and regnal dates are legible support this inference except the earliest coin of all, which is dated A. H. 1187, R. Y. 1.
>
> I cannot say if the matter has any significance."

It is known that Timur's successor Zaman Shah struck very many coins in silver in the mint at Kashmir and it is improbable he found it necessary to countermark his predecessors coins.

SHUJA-L-MULK SHAH. (*Second reign*) *A. H. 1218-1224* (*A.D. 1803-1809*) *At Peshawar & Kashmir A.H. 1227-1228* (*A. D. 1812-1813*).

Bhakhar.

No. 8/W. 1038. Copper. Date ? R. Y. ? (12xx) on the coin. Weight 214 grains. Countermarked with the word 'Shuja' in a small square.

The original coin is of Shuja-l-Mulk, the obverse reading "Shuja-l-Mulk Shah, falus". The countermark is on the obverse and is stated to have only "Shuja" without the remaining portion of the ruler's name. The reverse had a date in which only the figures 12 can be distinguished and below the date, "Zarab Bhakhar".

No. 9/B.M. Copper. Date. ? R. Y. ? Weight 218. 6 grains. **(Pl. II. 9)**

Again a coin of Shuja-l-Mulk, similar to No. 8. The date cannot be read on the reverse. The countermark, which is on the obverse, is only partially visible but there is sufficient to show it is "Shuja-l-Mulk" and is almost certainly of Bhakhar mint. No date is visible on the countermark. M. Longworth Dames—"The Coins of the Durranis", *Num. Chron.*, 1888, coin No. 132—refers to a countermarked copper coin of Shuja-l-Mulk Shah with the countermark on the obverse and "Zarab Bhakhar" on the reverse.

No. 10/W.1046/B.M. Copper. Date ? R. Y. ? Weight 192. 3 grains.—the weight in the *Catalogue* is stated to be 193 grains. **(Pl. II 10)**

Dr. Whitehead's remarks read :

"Copper coin hammered out so that original inscriptions are illegible. One side overstruck in small square "Shuja-l-Mulk". The illustration, No. 5, Plate XII, is not of this coin but of No. 1047 in the text, page 153. No indication of mint.

No. 11/W.1047/B.M. Copper. Date ? R. Y. ? Weight 220.4 grains.—weight in the *Catalogue* is stated to be 221 grains. **(Pl. II. 8)**

Dr. Whitehead's remarks against this coin are :

"Copper coin, possibly of Jahangir, counterstruck on one side "Shuja-l-Mulk" and illegible date in a small square ; on other side "Raij" in small circle",

One side of this coin is illustrated by Dr. Whitehead, Pl. XII, No. 5.

W. H. Valentine—*Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States*, Vol. II, page 194—has a sketch of his coin No. 611, and the date looks like either A. H. 1216 or 1226, as it is represented as 12 6 in Arabic figures.

The coin in the British Museum is the one described and illustrated by Valentine and is the coin in **Pl. II. 8**. It is possible 'Raij' on the reverse may have been added to inspire confidence regarding the authenticity of the coin.

In an attempt to explain the countermarks on these coins it is suggested they were issued in the year A. H. 1226 in preparation for Shuja-l-Mulk's invasion of Peshawar and were therefore intended for the short period when he ruled at Peshawar and Kashmir, A. H. 1227-1228 (A. D. 1812 to 1813). They could have been prepared in the year immediately preceding his assumption of power, or even earlier, and dated A. H. 1226.

Shuja-l-Mulk issued no coins in his first reign, A. H. 1216, at Peshawar and in his second did not issue ony gold from Bhakhar mint and there are only three rupees dated A. H. 1218, 1219 ?, and one in which the date is not visible, as it is stated to be off the flan, if it did exist on the die. No copper coins would therefore appear to have been issued in the year A. H. 1216, and the coins we are concerned with, before they were countermarked, must have been from the mint at Bhakhar and issued during his second reign.

It will help in a better understanding of the situation if Dr. Whitehead is quoted in connection with the incidents connected with Shuja's movements from the year A. H. 1224. (Whitehead, Vol. III, page XXVII of his 'Introduction'.)

> "Mahmud Shah recovered Kabul in the spring of A. D. 1809 and defeated Shah Shuja at Nimla in August of that year, A. H. 1224. Shuja fled to Quandahar, then to the Punjab, where he met Ranjit Singh and Sahiwal. The next few years were occupied with various attempts on Peshawar. In the cold weather of A. D. 1811/12 (A. H. 1227), Shuja expelled the governor Muhammad Azim Khan Barakzai from Peshawar and took up his residence in the citadel ; this temporary success was commemorated by the issue of coins. Shuja was taken prisoner in the spring of A. D. 1812 by Jahandah Khan who sent the captive to his brother Ata Muhammad Khan Banizai, governor of Kashmir. ...

In early A. D. 1813 Vazir Fath Khan conquered Kashmir and left his brother Azim Khan Barakzai governor in place of the defeated Ata Muhammad ; Shuja was sent down to Ranjit Singh at Lahore."

It is seen from the year A.H. 1224 until he finally obtained a footing in Peshawar in A. H. 1227, and ruled for a year, that Shuja was occupied with attempts at capturing the town and it may be assumed that while he was with Ranjit Singh he could have collected as much currency of his second reign and any others that were readily available and after having them defaced, countermarked them so as to have a ready-made currency when he secured a footing at Peshawar. Immediately on obtaining a footing at Peshawar and Kashmir, rupees dated A.H. 1227, of two types, were issued for Peshawar and some coins of low denomination, in copper, for Kashmir with the date A. H. 1228.

MAHMUD SHAH. (Second reign) A. H. 1224-1233 (A. D. 1809-1818).

Mahmud was driven out of Kabul by the Barakzais in A.H. 1233 (A. D. 1818). He ruled on sufferance at Hirat till his death in A.H. 1245 (A.D. 1829).

No. 12/W.1137/B.M. Rupee. Date A. H. 1228. R. Y. 5. **(Pl. II. 7)**. Surcharged with the figure 9 and 'Raij' in a small incuse. This countermark is superimposed on one slightly larger.

The necessity for the countermark may have been to enable coins of the dispossessed ruler, from his mint at Kabul to be available for use at Herat, where he is stated to have ruled on sufferance till his death in A.H. 1245.

There is also a possibility of the countermark being the work of the Barakzais to enable the coinage of Mahmud Shah to remain current in Kabul after his expulsion in A.H. 1233.

Mughal.

No. 13. Copper. Date. ? R.Y. ? **(Pl. II. 11)**
Weight 217.2 grains.
Countermarked with the word 'Raij' in an incuse circle.

In my previous paper entitled "Countermarked Mughal and Suri Coins" this coin was included, but doubt had been expressed concerning its origin. It was suggested that it may have been a countermark of the Suris or Durranis, or that it

may have been a countermark affixed to coins passing through Afghanistan to Central Asia in the course of trade. In connection with the last suggestion an extract from the *Itinerary of A Journey from Persia to Kabul* made in the year 1826 by Claude Auguste Court was quoted.

It will be seen the countermark on the reverse of coin No. 11 **(Pl. II. 8)**, in this article is similar to the countermark on this coin and there is a possibility that coin No. 11 of Shuja-l-Mulk and this one were countermarked with the word 'Raij' when they formed part of the possessions of traders proceeding to Central Asia from India.

The weights of both coins are approximately the same, coin No. 11 being 220.4 grains and No. 13, 217.2 grains.

Dr. Whitehead in describing coin No. 1047 (coin No. 11 of this paper), states it may possibly be Jahangir and my coin has been described, in my previous paper, as of either Akbar, or Jahangir, of Kabul mint, struck on an earlier coin of Akbar; or that it may be a double-struck coin of Jahangir.

Sikh Countermarked Coins.

RANJIT SINGH. A. D. 1819-1839.

No. 14. Copper. Date ? R. Y. ?
Weight 152.4 grains. **(Pl. II. 12)**
Badly worn, or defaced, coin of Ranjit Singh of the Punjab with the word 'Raij' within an incuse Square.

No. 15. Copper. Date ? R. Y. ?
Weight 157.0 grains. **(Pl. II. 13)**
Almost completely defaced coin with 'Raij' countermarked within an incuse square.

The writer has another coin of Ranjit Singh with a similar countermark.

An explanation for the occurrence of the countermark on these coins may be that, like many other coins from the north-west of India, they were carried in the course of trade to Central Asia and received the countermarks in Afghanistan at the time merchants were being taxed on the money carried through the country.

Another, and more likely, explanation for the countermarks is that they were affixed to coins taken by the Sikhs into Kashmir at the time of their conquest of the territory in A. D. 1819 and that the coins continued in use until A.D. 1845 when the territory was conquered by the British.

These copper coins should have been the earliest currency used by the Sikhs in the area. Some time later they issued the so called "Cat" money, similar to the Durrani coins circulating in Kashmir. (Valentine, Part II, pp. 195-197. Coins Nos. 617 to 626).

In numbering the coins in the article, the letter 'W' refers to coin numbers in Dr. Whitehead's *Catalogue* and where coins are in the British Museum collection the letters 'B. M.' have been used.

I have to thank Dr. John Walker, C.B.E., Keeper of Coins & Medals at the British Museum, for permission to publish and illustrate coins in the National collection.

COINS OF THE TALPUR MIRS OF SIND

C. H. BIDDULPH

[Plate III]

In collecting information concerning the Durranis and their expeditions into India, frequent reference to the Talpur Mirs of Sind and their relations with the Durranis in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were noticed. The history of the Mirs and their position in Sind in the early years of the British interest in, and ultimate occupation of, the country is not readily available. An attempt was therefore made to collect any interesting facts that would help in a better understanding of the part played by them between the years A. D. 1747 and 1842 and to ascertain, if any evidence could be found of mints that they may have operated in Sind.

A Short History of the Province of Sind by G. E. L. Carter, I. C. S. (Retd.), was sent to me by the author and in the course of further correspondence much useful information, of a Sind of 40 years ago, was obtained from him. He had served as a Civilian in the area and had made a study of the antiquities and the inhabitants from the earliest times to the final annexation of the territory by the British.

On his advice the *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* by E. H. Aitken and *Antiquities of Sind* by H. Cousens were consulted in a search for further material.

A recent work connected with the early years of the British connection with Sind entitled *Sir Charles Napier and Sind* by H. T. Lambrick has helped considerably in my enquiries. It is proposed to furnish extract from it in this note in connection with the Talpur Mirs and I take this opportunity to acknowledge the help this book has been in connection with general historical data and information concerning the existing and recommended currency of the Talpurs.

In writing of the Kalhora rulers we get some early references to the Talpurs from this work.

> "Among those whom they invited to leave their hills and take service in Sind were the Talpurs, a branch of the Murri tribe, who rose to eminence as governors and military commanders under them. The second generation increased their influence in the country, till disappointed rivals fomented the jealousy and suspicion of the ruler

Sarfaraz Khan Kalhoro, a capricious tyrant. He had the Talpur Chief Bahram Khan murdered in the year 1774 and his successors perpetrated further treacherous murders of Bahram Khan's son and grandson, in spite of their faithful services during the wars of succession. The Talpurs, who had twice refrained, after defeating their ungrateful masters, at length assumed the government in 1783."

"The Amir of Kabul, after vainly laying waste half Sind in an attempt to restore Abdul Nabi Kalhoro, recognised the Talpur's right to rule the country as tributaries."

"The government of the Talpur Mirs of Sind was an Islamic autocracy."

The year 1783 when the Talpurs assumed the government is cofirmed by G. E. L. Carter in his *Short History of the Province of Sind.*

Dr. Whitehead in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore,* Vol. III, in 'Introduction' refers to the year 1786.

Mention is made of this slight discrepancy as it is rather important when we examine Talpur coins of Sind mint, which were in fact issued from a mint at Hyderabad, as the earliest rupee is dated A. H. 1198 (A. D. 1783/84) and was apparently issued at the time they assumed control of the area.

Lambrick when mentioning Shah Shuja's attempt in 1833/34 to regain his lost throne in Afghanistan states :

"The Shah now seems to have made over to Ranjit Singh his rights over Shikarpur, in Upper Sind, once part of the Durrani Empire, but since 1824 occupied by the Mirs."

The Sikh forces advanced up to the Talpur frontiers in 1836, but the British did not wish the Sikh kingdom to extend further southwards and intervened on behalf of the Mirs with the result that Shikarpur was not occupied by the Sikhs.

It is interesting to mention that though the Mirs had occupied Shikarpur from the year 1824, no mint seems to have been established until the year A. H. 1250 (A. D. 1834).

Confirmation of the fact that the Mirs had the right to coin money and had exercised it is found on page 75, where Lambrick remarks ;

> "The Mirs were to lose their right as sovereigns to coin money. The British Government would supply their needs, coining from silver furnished by the Mirs, rupees bearing on one side the Queen's head and on the other whatever device they might wish."

The Mirs naturally did not agree to this suggestion as they had a religious objection to their coinage having an image of a person. Outram appears to have advised Napier regarding this objection, as we read on page 116 :

> "Napier declined to communicate Outram's view that the provision by which the coinage of Sind should in future bear Queen Victoria's image was offensive to Islamic usage, although no objection could be taken to an inscription."

No attempt appears to have been made to introduce such rupees.

Towards the end of his account of Talpur rule in Sind Lambrick, when referring to the tribes of the north-west frontier of the Talpur territory who had long been practically independent of the Talpurs, states :

> "The vulnerable frontier of Sind was that stretching between the Chandia Hills on the west and Kashmir on the Indus ; about 150 miles of open plain and desert, with no defined boundaries. This during the latter part of the Mir's rule had been the scene of much disorder, till under the treaty of March 1839 the British Government had undertaken responsibility to defend the country against all external aggression. Blood and treasure were poured out in various attempts to solve the problem of this frontier, but it remained intractable until the year 1842 when John Jacob with his Scinde Irregular Horse showed how it could be brought under control."

G. E. L. Carter, *A Short History of the Province of Sind,* on page 44, mentions the north-east frontier took still longer before it was finally settled and says this did not actually take place until the year 1856.

Enquiries in connection with the monetary issues of the Talpurs have shown there were certain other mints than the one at Bhakhar mentioned by Dr. Whitehead, page XLII of of his 'Introduction', when discussing the coinage of Mahmud Shah. He considered the coins from Bhakhar were issued by the Mirs of Khairpur after they had captured the town from the Afghans.

Examination of the rupees of Timur Shah of Sind mint, Whitehead's Nos. 547 to 552, similarly suggests they are not coins of the Durranis. It is proposed to furnish facts in support and attempt to show they must have been issued by the Talpur Mirs after they had received recognition by the Amir of Kabul in A. H. 1198 (A. D. 1783/84) and commenced their rule in Sind as his tributaries. The mint at this date was located at Hyderabad and it would be reasonable to expect the rupees should be similar in weight to Durrani coins.

From the year A. H. 1255 (A. D. 1839), when the Mirs came directly under the protection of the British, changes were evidently introduced in the coinage and an appreciable reduction in the weights of rupees from Hyderabad Sind and Bhakhar are noticed. In the case of Bhakhar rupees weigh between 152 and 153 grains and the coins from Hyderabad Sind as little as 120 to 121 grains.

Coins of Shikarpur.

Copper falus were issued from a mint situated at Shikarpur, a town in the Shikarpur Taluka, Sukkar District. The town is situated on an ancient trade route from Sind to Khorasan and Central Asia, via the Bolan Pass.

These falus would seem to be the only coins issued from this mint and may be in the nature of local money, or tokens, for small transactions in a restricted area. They appear to have been issued in the two years, A. H. 1250 and 1255, but must have remained in circulation for a long period as they are usually found in a very worn condition.

These local coins appear to follow the custom in Persia for towns to issue their own copper money. On one side is a heraldic, or geometrical device, a sword, the figure of animal, bird, or flower; on the other appear just the word 'falus', (copper money), the mint and Hijri date. (Dr. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. III, Preface, page XI).

Mint Shikarpur.

No. 1/B.M. Copper. Falus. Date A. H. 1250. **(Pl. III. 1).** Weight 152.9 grains—The coin appears to have been clipped.

There are two coins with this date and five or six others dated A. H. 1255 in the British Museum collection.

No. 2. Copper. Falus. Date A. H. 1255. **(Pl. III. 2).** Weight 161.4 grains.

The writer has another coin with this date and has seen a few more.

Coins of Hyderabad Sind.

Before furnishing a list of coins of the Mirs from Hyderabad Sind in the name, or in the memory of Timur Shah, information I have collected in connection with the issue will be furnished.

H. Cousens—*Antiquities of Sind,* on page 42, states:

> "In the meantime the Kabul ruler still asserted his suzerainty and compelled the Mirs to pay substantial tribute. During most of this time the rupees used in Sind were those coined by the Kabul government. It was not until the time of Mir Murad Ali Khan that coins were struck in his own name at Hyderabad."

Support for Cousens' statement that rupees used in Sind were coined by the Kabul Government is found in some information contained in a letter from G. E. L. Carter, written in the year 1962, in which, when discussing the possibility that silver coins may also have been issued from the mint at Shikarpur comments on the fact that Durrani silver coins must have been the currency used by the Talpur Mirs:

> "But in the old and now desert site of Dewal Bandar in the delta, only a few miles from the open sea, a hoard of 'rupees' was dug up about 50 years ago, all deriving from Herat."

In an attempt to date Cousens' information in connection with the issue of coins by the Mirs, in the time of Murad Ali Khan, it is necessary to refer to the *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* by E. H. Aitken, pages 117 & 118:

> "Finally in A. D. 1792 (A. H. 1207/08) a treaty was signed at Shikarpur and Fateh Ali Khan, paying 24 lakhs of rupees on account of arrears of tribute (to the Durranis) received a fresh sanad and a jewelled sword and an elephant on which he rode to Hyderabad and installed himself with due pomp. The government of Sind now became a confederacy of chiefs ruling each his own share independently. Fath Ali Khan took into partnership his three brothers, Ghulam Ali, Karam Ali and Murad Ali (called the "Chayar", or four friends) and ruled at Hyderabad."

Cousens' information would tend to fix the date when the Talpurs probably first issued coinage in Hyderabad Sind as the year A.H. 1207/08 (A.D. 1792). This date is considered late as the earliest Talpur coins are rupees which are dated A.H. 1198 (A.D. 1783/84) in the name of Timur Shah. (Dr. Whitehead's coin No. 547 on page 82 of his *Catalogue*).

The coins do not bear the name of Murad Shah as we should expect from Cousens' information. Rupees Nos. 547, 549 & 550 are of standard weight. Coin No. 548, with no date, must belong to the period A. H. 1245 to 1257, together with Nos. 551 & 552. These coins are light in weight and must have been issued after A. H. 1255 (A. D. 1839) when the Mirs came under British protection. All these rupees are crude in design and unlike the coins of Nadir Shah from Sind mint, or of Timur Shah when he was Nizam, or Governor, of the Punjab, Sind and Derajat.

The particulars of rupees from Hyderabad mint, which will be furnished at the end of these remarks, are included under Timur Shah in the British Museum collection and a ticket describes them as belonging to the "Period of Anarchy. In Memory of Timur."

G. E. L. Carter on being requested to comment on these two statements kindly sent me his views which I shall reproduce as he certainly offered some interesting information in regard to the second. To the first his reply was :

> "I cannot say anything on this point from memory after 40 years."

His remarks on the second are :

> "The Memory of Timur was, I understood, the "sanction" for the coins. They were not issued under any Durrani grant, or authority. ... The Talpurs would prudently coin as from a grant until it was certain that there was no danger in a claim to independence."

This would appear to explain the rupees of Hyderabad Sind from A. H. 1198 (A. D. 1783/84) to A. H. 1255 (A. D. 1839) the period during which they were coined using Timur Shah's name and maintaining the Durrani weight standard. The light coins, which extended to A. H. 1257 (A. D. 1841) for Hyderabad Sind and A. H. 1265 (A. D. 1849) for Bhakhar, would have been issued when the Talpurs were under British protection.

Mint Hyderabad Sind.

No. 1/W. 547.	Rupee.	Date A. H. 1198 (A. D. 1783/84). Weight 170.5 grains. Illustrated by Dr. Whitehead. (Pl. VII. No. 9).
No. 2/W. 548.	Rupee.	Date ? Weight 121.0 grains. From the weight it should have been issued subsequent to A. H. 1242.
No. 3.	Rupee.	Date A. H. 1239 (A. D. 1823) Weight ? Coin in possession of G. E. L. Carter, Pine Hollow, Budleigh Salterton, Devon.
No. 4/W. 549/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A. H. 1240 (A. D. 1824). Weight 168. 0 grains.
No. 5/W. 550/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A. H. 1242 (A. D. 1826). Weight 171. 0 grains.
No. 6/W. 551/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A. H. 1255 (A. D. 1839). Weight 121. 0 grains. **(Pl. III. 3).**
No. 7/W. 552/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A. H. 1257 (A. D. 1841). Weight 120. 0 grains.
No. 8.	Rupee.	Date ? (No date on the coin). Weight 117.5 grains. **(Pl. III. 4).**

(i) In the writer's collection. Reduction in weight due to the coin being clipped.

(ii) There are other coins in the British Museum collection without dates.

Coins of Bhakhar.

Talpur coins from this mint have been included in Dr. Whitehead's *Catalogue*, Vol. III, under Mahmud Shah Durrani in his second reign which extended from A. H. 1224-1233 (A. D. 1809 to 1818). All the coins were issued after Mahmud was driven out of Kabul by the Barakzais in A. H. 1233 (A. D. 1818). He continued to rule on sufferance at Hirat till his death in A. H. 1245 (A. D. 1829/30).

Dr. Whitehead makes these comments when he refers to the coins from the mint at Bhakhar :

"The central area rupee dated A. H. 1245 was struck in the year of Mahmud's death and is full weight. The

successors of A. H. 1255 and subsequent years are light pieces weighing 152 to 153 grains, and must have been coined by the Mirs of Khairpur who captured Bhakhar from the Afghans. The first issue of A. H. 1258 exhibits a bird, a peafowl or pigeon, on the obverse, while the reverse bears a peafowl with a cobra in its beak. Other coins of the same year have a hare on the obverse. This hare again appears on issues of A. H. 1259 and 1261, corresponding with A. D. 1843 and 1845, but on the reverse is a lion. Sir Charles Napier had arrived in Sind, and Bhakhar with other places was ceded by a treaty signed in February 1843."

The lion on the reverse of three coins in the British Museum collection are as stated by Dr. Whitehead of the years A. H. 1259 and 1261. The date cannot be read on one coin, but it may be assumed to be either A. H. 1259 or 1261. As these coins correspond with the years A. D. 1843 and 1845 the natural assumption is that some British interest in, or control of, the Talpur Mirs mint at Bhakhar existed from the year A. D. 1843.

The lions on these coins resemble the lions in the Coat of Arms of the East India Company coins (half and quarter anna and coins of smaller denomination) of the years A. D. 1830 to 1834 issued by the mint at Bombay and similar coins of the years A. D. 1833 to 1858 from the mint in Bengal.

An alternative explanation for the appearance of the lion on these Talpur rupees may be a desire to acknowledge the protection they received from the British.

Coins from Bhakhar mint are included under Mahmud Shah in the British Museum collection with a ticket stating they may probably have been struck by the Sikhs. I do not support this view and am in agreement with Dr. Whitehead.

Mint Bhakhar.

No. 1/W.1078. Rupee. Date A.H.1241 ? Weight 177 grains. Inscriptions on obveree and reverse. Coin catalogued by Dr. Whitehead, but the date cannot be A.H. 1241 and is likely to be later than A. H. 1245.

Coin No. 1079 is omitted from this list as it is similar to No. 1078 and the date is off the flan.

No. 2/W.1080.	Rupee.	Date A.H.1245 (A.D. 1829). Weight 176 grains. Inscription on obverse and reverse. The diameter of the flan reduced in this and all the coins of later date.
No. 3/W.1081/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A.H.1255 (A.D.1839). Weight of coin No. 1081–153 grains. Inscription on obverse and reverse. The reduction in weight appears to have been introduced about this year. See also coin No.6/W.551/B. M. in the list of coins from the mint at Hyderabad Sind.
Nos. 4, 5 & 6/ W.1082/B.M.	Rupee.	Date A.H. 1255 (A.D. 1839). Weight of coin No.1082—152 grains. Inscriptions on obverse and reverse. Coins Nos. 4, 5 and 6 are similar.
No. 7/W.1083/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A. H. 1256 (A. D. 1840). Weight of coin No.1083—153 grains. Inscriptions on obverse and reverse.
No. 8/W.1084/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A. H. 1256 (A. D. 1840). Weight of coin No.1084—153 grains. Obverse has a pigeon to right with the inscription and the reverse an inscription only.
No. 9/W.1085/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A. H. 1258 (A. D. 1842). Weight of coin No.1085—152 grains. Obverse has a pigeon to left with the inscription and the reverse a peacock with a cobra, held in its beak. **(Pl. III. 5).**
No. 10/W.1086/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A. H. 12 (XX). Coin in the British Museum Date A.H. 1258 ? Coin No. 1086 (Whitehead's). Weight of the B.M. coin 153.3 grains. Dr. Whitehead's coin is 152 grains. Obverse has a hare to right with the inscription and the reverse a peacock with a cobra, as in No. 9. **(Pl. III. 6).**

No. 11./B. M.	Rupee.	Date A.H. 1258 (A.D. 1842). Obverse has a hare left with the inscription and the reverse a peacock with a cobra, as in No. 9. The B. M. has a second coin and the date on the ticket under the coin is A. H. 1254 ? This date is incorrect as the coin must have been issued in A. H. 1258. Dr. Whitehead does not appear to have catalogued a coin with a hare to left.
No. 12/W.1087/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A.H. 1259 (A.D. 1843). Weight of coin No. 1087—153 grains. Obverse has a hare to left with the inscription and the reverse a lion, rampant, to right. The British Museum has another coin in which the date cannot be read. There are noticeable variations in the lions on these coins.
No.13/W.1080/ B.M.	Rupee.	Date A.H. 1261 (A.D. 1845). Weight of coin in the British Museum 151.4 grains. Coin No. 1088 weighs 152 grains. Obverse has a hare to left with the inscription and the reverse a lion, rampant, to right. **(Pl. III. 7).**
No. 14 & 15/ W.1089/B.M.	Rupee.	A.H. 1265 (A. D. 1848/49). Weight of coin No. 1089—153 grains. Inscriptions on obverse and reverse.

In numbering the coins in this article, the letter 'W. refers to coin numbers in Dr. Whitehead's *Catalogue* and where coins are in the British Museum collection the letters 'B. M.' have been used.

I have to thank Dr. John Walker, C. B. E., Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, for permission to publish and illustrate coins in the National collection.

THE MARATHAS IN SOUTHERN INDIA AND THEIR COINAGE

C. H. BIDDULPH

[Plate IV]

In his paper on 'Currencies and Mints under Maratha Rule' read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay Branch) on 16-2-1899, and published in the Society's *Journal*, Vol. XX, pages 191 to 200, Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, when referring to the copper currency of the Marathas, has stated :

> The Shivarayi pice was ten masas in weight and double, or dhabu pice, were also coined,weighing twenty-two masas. There was no fraction below a pice. The subsidiary coins below the pice were the cowries in extensive use still for small transactions."

This information may have been based on the writer's knowledge at the time he read his paper and is possibly correct for the area with which he was familiar. His assertion that there were no coins of smaller denomination than the paisa certainly cannot apply to Southern India, where, it will be shown, there were, at least, two coins of smaller denomination in circulation over a fairly large area of the Madras Presidency.

A coin which must certainly have been intended to serve as a half paisa was also issued by one of the Northern branches of the Marathas and circulated in Southern India. It will be included in the list of coins collected in the South Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura Districts of the Madras Presidency.

Paisas, ordinarily current in Poona, Satara and Kolhapur, also occur in Southern India and should have been imported in great quantity at the time the two sons of Shahji, the Maratha General, were serving under the Bijapur ruler. In addition to these paisas, coins of smaller denomination were issued in Southern India after both brothers seized power in the areas they were instructed to control.

Before proceeding to describe the Maratha coins which circulated in the South, a short note on the circumstances leading to the presence of the Marathas, in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the area is considered necessary as it will make the study of their coinage of greater interest.

The historical backgrouud connected with the penetration of the Marathas into South India has largely been extracted from *A History of the Nayaks of Madura* by R. Sathyanatha Aiyar.

The penetration may be said to have sprung from the employment by the ruler of Bijapur of a Maratha General named Shahji and his two sons Sivaji and Venkaji (Ekoji), who, following their father in his career as a soldier of fortune, became generals in the service of Golconda and Bijapur respectively.

Sivaji (1627-1680), a general under Golconda, overran the Carnatic in 1677 in an attempt to assert the authority of the Golconda rulers in the area. He seems to have soon decided that, with the success he had in his early operations, he could take the place of the rulers of Vijayanagar, who had been conquered in the person of Sri Ranga, the last ruler, about the year 1646 by Golconda. The issue of coinage on the model of Vijayanagar, by Sivaji is a clear indication of his designs. By 1673 he was monarch of the whole of the Konkan and died in 1680.

Sivaji captured Gingee in July 1677 and it remained in the hands of the Marathas until 1698. He next sent most of his army against Vellore as he marched towards Tanjore to interview his brother Ekoji and settle certain differences between them. On receiving six lakhs from Ekoji, Sivaji withdrew, leaving his brother Santaji as governor of Gingee. Sivaji proceeded towards Vellore in July but on hearing that the Emperor Aurangzeb was about to lead a campaign against him in person, he hastened to the north in November 1677.

Venkaji (Ekoji) (1674-1681), the other brother, served as a general under the ruler of Bijapur and assumed command at Bangalore, including Bijapur's conquests in the Carnatic.

About 1674 he was sent to Tanjore by the ruler to remove Alagiri Nayaka, who had become ruler of Tanjore, and to place Chengamala Nayaka in power. Venkaji carried out his mission and almost immediately usurped the throne of Tanjore. From him descended a line of Maratha rulers of Tanjore who ruled the country almost continuously until the year 1855, except for the years 1773 to 1776, when Tanjore was captured by General Smith and handed over to Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot. The Maratha rule at Tanjore came to an end when Sivaji (1833-1855) died leaving no male issue.

The Tanjore Marathas were feudatories of the Mughals from the year 1691, after Aurangzeb Alamgir had reduced the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda in the years 1686 and 1687

respectively and penetrated into the Carnatic. The Marathas were Aurangzeb's most powerful adversary in the South.

Sambaji, who held Madura, offended Aurangzeb by whom he was captured in January 1689 and executed in March of the same year.

In 1693, Zulfikar Khan, a general of Aurangzeb Alamgir, who was occupied with the seige of Gingee from 1691 to 1698, sent an army to the South and exacted tribute from Trichinopoly and Tanjore.

The extent of Venkaji's kingdom, mentioned by F. R. Hemingway, I. C. S., in the *Madras District Gazetteer—Tanjore*, Vol. I, 1915, at first comprised most of Tanjore District, Arni, Porto Novo, and the large jaghir of Bangalore, which had been granted to his father and included the districts of Kolar, Bangalore, Hoskota, Balapur and Sera. It was soon reduced to much narrower limits and about 1687 the generals of Aurangzeb came south and after seizing Bangalore, forced Tanjore to submit and pay tribute.

The remaining territory round Bangalore was seized by Mysore, now a rapidly growing power. Arni continued to be a nominal dependency of Tanjore till as late as 1771 ; but with this exception, the surrounding territories of Madura, Mysore and the Princes, or Nawabs, of arcot soon hemmed the Tanjore kingdom within limits which could not have extended much beyond the present district.

Two other powers with which the Maratha kingdom of Tanjore was brought into conflict in the first half century of its existence were the Nayaks of Madura, or Trichinopoly, and the Maravar kings of Ramnad. Both these powers had been the chief foes of the former Nayaks of Tanjore.

Maratha interference in the affairs of the south occurred once more during the years 1740 to 1749, but on this occasion the forces came from Satara, and intervened on behalf of Vangaru Tirumalai Nayak and the King of Tanjore. Facts concerning this intervention are furnished from the *Madras District Gazetteer-Tinnevelly*, Vol. I, 1917, by H. R. Pate, I.C.S.

> "The Marathas again intervened (1740-1749) on behalf of Vangaru Tirumalai Nayak and the King of Tanjore. They came from Satara. The Maratha army appeared in the south in 1740 and defeated and killed Nawab Dost Ali of Arcot in North Arcot. They allowed his son Safdar Ali to succeed as Nawab and retired."
>
> "At the end of the same year the Marathas, at the invitation of Safdar Ali, appeared before Trichinopoly.

They defeated and killed the two brothers of Chanda Sahib and captured Chanda Sahib whom they took to Satara at the end of March 1741 and Morari Rao of Gooty was appointed governor, from 1741 to 1743, of the conquered Kingdom of Trichinopoly. Another Maratha chief administered the State of Madura."

"In 1743 the Nizam marched south and established his authority in the Carnatic. He appointed Anwar-ud-Din to be Nawab and the whole of the Madura Kingdom now fell under the rule of the potentate. Morari Rao retired from the scene and Vangaru Tirumalai disappeared (poisoned some say) shortly afterwards."

An attempt will next be made to trace the final references concerning the Satara Maratha incursion into Southern India as it has been stated in the previous paragraph that following the appointment of Anwar-ud-Din as Nawab of Arcot in the year 1743, Morari Rao retired from the scene.

An extract from my article on the 'Coins of the Nawabs of Arcot' in *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, Pts. 1 & 2 of 1962, will perhaps help by being repeated as it shows the Marathas were still in the Madura-Tinnevelly area up to the year 1752.

"1748. Chanda Sahib, on release, invaded the Carnatic. Anwar-ud-Din who had been appointed by the real Nizam, Nazir Jang, was defeated and killed in July A. D. 1749 and Chanda Sahib was appointed by Muzaffar Jang to be Nawab of Arcot."

"1749. Muhammad Ali - the son of Anwar-ud-Din, fled to Trichinopoly and proclaimed himself Nawab. The South now became involved in the struggle between Muhammad Ali and Chanda Sahib. Muhammad Ali sent troops to Tinnevelly. The troops were commanded by Abdul Rahim with some English troops working in conjunction with them and under Lieut. Innis."

"1752. Chanda Sahib was recaptured by the Marathas and put to death, by being beheaded, by order of one of the Maratha Generals."

Confirmation of Maratha penetration into the extreme south is furnished in a reference connected with the Dutch and the port of Tuticorin in *The Coins of the Dutch Overseas Territories, 1601-1948*, by C. Scholten, page 145 :

"...in 1740 and 1743 Maratha incursions took place, the native mint was at a standstill for a long time."

This information would suggest a movement of the Satara Marathas further south about the time of the appointment of

Morari Rao as Governor of Trichinopoly in the period 1741 to 1743 and it is evident they remained in Tinnevelly District even after Muhammad Ali had proclaimed himself Nawab at Trichinopoly in 1749 and commenced operations against Chanda Sahib, in which the Marathas assisted, resulting in Chanda Sahib's capture and death in 1752.

Earlier a reference was made to the line of Maratha rulers of Tanjore founded by Venkaji (Ekoji), but it is considered the note will be unduly lengthened if a chronological list of the original Maratha kings from the time of Sivaji, followed by the Satara and Kolhapur branches and the Tanjore rulers is incorporated as only a few coins of the main lines and the Tanjore rulers have the names of the rulers by whom they were issued inscribed on them. It is proposed to include this information in an appendix as the individual names with dates are not essential when considering the coinage, but it will assist in an appreciation of the rather involved line of rulers in the main and branch families, with a bewildering repetition in the names and their rather doubtful relationship.

Coinage.

Before describing the coins in the plate accompanying the note reference will be made to certain other Maratha coins, in gold mainly, which were current in Southern India. They circulated mostly in Mysore and the adjoining territory, but this does not detract from their interest as they invariably adhere to the size and weight standard existing in the area and follow the prevailing custom of incorporating the name of the Mughal ruler, in power in Delhi, in the inscriptions in certain instances, or have Hindu gods, or other symbols, commonly found on the coinage of the local rulers of the period.

Pagodas or Huns.

1. M. G. Ranade in his paper entitled 'Currencies and Mints under Maratha Rule', referred to in the opening paragraph of the note, mentions Vellore, Tanjore and Ramanathapuri (Ramnad) Huns or Pagodas.

2. C. Scholten in *The Coins of the Dutch Overseas Territories, 1601-1948*, on page 138, when discussing the Marathas in connection with Negapatam, states:

> "In 1676 the country surrounding Negapatam was plundered by the Marathas."
>
> "It would appear that it was here that the Company, after receiving the mint custom in 1662, first struck a Pagoda of the type later generally known as the "Porto

Novo" type, with a convex reverse covered with dots (granulated). On the obverse it bore a standing deity."

"The Marathas adopted this type with the granulated reverse and soon claimed the exclusive right of coining it. Later the Nawab of Arcot and the British did the same."

Scholten seems to imply from his reference that the Dutch were the first power to coin the "Porto Novo" pagoda and that the type was copied by the Marathas about the year 1676, or soon after, and later still by the Nawabs of Arcot and the British.

Sivaji overran the Carnatic in 1677 and very soon decided he would take the place of the rulers of Vijayanagar in the area.

3. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar in *A History of the Nayaks of Madras*, states :

"The issue of coinage in the model Vijayanagar by Sivaji is a clear indication of his designs."

The coinage mentioned by R. Sathyanatha Aiyar must be the huns of "Porto Novo" referred to also by Scholten and they were probably struck by Sivaji at Masulipatam, Gingee, Vellore, or Negapatam.

As Ranade, item 1, refers to Huns it is possible the coin **(Pl. IV. 1)** is one of the Huns, or Pagodas, to which all of them refer. There is however no certainty where it was actually coined, but Gingee or Vellore would be likely centres in which Sivaji would have established a mint as these were two of his early strong points.

It has not been possible to distinguish Huns from Maratha mints at Tanjore, or Ramnad.

4. H. P. Hawkes in *Gold, Silver and Copper Coinage of Mysore*, when describing Maratha coins in South India refers to "Ashwooputty" Pagodas and Fanams of Gooroomconda in the period 1770 to 1773. In describing the coins he states they had the figure of a man, or god, on horseback. Gurramkonda, a town in Cuddapah District, was taken by Haidar Ali in 1768 from the Nawab of Cuddapah. A few years later it surrendered to the Marathas from whom it was recaptured by Tipu Sultan early in 1774.

5. J. R. Hendersen in *The Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan*, pages 76 and 77, refers to an issue of pagodas by the Marathas from Gooty.

"Gooty came under the domination of the Marathas in 1758 and was taken by Haidar Ali from the celebrated Morari Rao in 1775."

"Gooty was the seat of a mint before it was occupied by Haidar and Tipu and gold pagodas were previously struck by the Marathas in the name of Muhammad Shah, in imitation of what are apparently true Mughal pagodas appearing first in the reign of Farrukh Siyar. These "Old Muhammad Shahi" pagodas, as they were termed, appear to have had an extensive local circulation and were succeeded by the "New Muhammad Shahi" pagodas struck in the first place by Haidar, but continued by Tipu."

When considering the Fanams probably issued by the Marathas a reference by H. P. Hawkes will be quoted. As he does not describe the coins it would be a fair guess to suggest they resembled these pagodas by having inscriptions on both obverse and reverse.

Fanams.

Fanams were coined in almost all the centres in Southern India occupied by foreign rulers, following their conquests. We know from F. R. Hemingway's description of the extent of Venkaji's kingdom, that it originally comprised most of Tanjore district, Arni, Porto Novo and the large jaghir of Bangalore which included the districts of Kolar, Bangalore, Hoskota, Balapur and Sera and it is possible fanams were struck at almost all these centres by the Marathas.

1. R. H. Campbell-Tufnell in *Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India,* pages 78 and 79, states :

"In 1770 the strong mountain fortress of Mundydroog was reduced by Madao Rao (Maratha), as were also the two states of Balapur. Tipu strongly fortified it and put it in charge of Luft Ali Beg who was besieged there by Major Gowdi under Lord Cornwallis on the 27th September and the place carried on 19th October 1791".

"In 1770 also Kolar, which had been taken by Captain Campbell two years before, was recaptured by Madao Rao, and here a fanam was struck bearing on one side the name of Mahomed Shah and on the other that of the mint town Kolar."

This information would seem to confirm Hemingway's information concerning the extent of Venkaji's kingdom and the issue and description of the Marathas fanams for Kolar.

Quoting further from Campbell-Tufnell :

"To the Mahratta's of Gooroomconda are attributed the fanams bearing the figure of a man on horseback and a

seated figure, somewhat similar to those on the Travancore coins."

"Others also which have a dagger on them have been attributed to the same war-like race. In addition to these...."

"One of these which is perhaps commoner than most and the inscription on which appears to read "Sri Raja Siva" and "Chatrapati", exactly corresponds to that on the thick copper coin which is by no means rare, but it is at present impossible to say who the king is to whom it should be assigned."

Campbell-Tufnell would therefore cenfirm H. P. Hawke's "Ashwooputty" fanam of the period 1770 to 1773.

The second with the dagger is usually referred to as a "Tanjore" fanam **(Pl. IV. 4)**, but there is no guarantee this is correct.

The third, of which there are fanams and half-fanams, could have been issued by the Marathas at Gingee, Vellore, or Tanjore. As they are similar to the small copper coins from a mint at Tanjore, it would be a fair guess to say Tufnell's third fanam was also from a mint at Tanjore. **(Pl. IV. 2 & 3)**.

"Another fanam occasionally, though rarely met with, bears on one side the figure of a bull and on the other a word which Hawkes reads "Shahoo", and considers may possibly be the name of the Polygar of Culiandroog where it is said to have been minted."

Jackson in the *British Numismatic Journal*, Vol. IX, 1913, also refers to this fanam and quotes as his authority Hawkes.

Culiandroog is in Mysore State and Madao Rao the Maratha General was operating in the area about the year 1770 and may have been responsible for the issue of this fanam, or some local ruler of the area could have issued them with the 'Nandi', or Bull, frequently seen on coins in this area on one side, and placed the name of the Maratha ruler Shahu I (1708-1749), or Shahu II (1777-1808), if the coin was issued after 1777, on the other.

Campbell-Tufnell, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LV, Part I, 1886, also refers to a Nundidrug fanam with a figure of 'Siva' or 'Kali' on the side and a design on the other which consists of curved and straight lines. These are small thick fanams and may also have been issued by the Marathas.

2. H. P. Hawkes refers to "Gooty" fanams which he says are attributed to Morari Rao.

3. He refers also to "Coodeeconda" fanams, or "Snake" fanams of three types. The first with a snake crawling on the obverse and the Nagari letter 'Sri' on the reverse. The second with the snake with its hood distended and the third with a three-headed snake.

The fanams are from the Mysore area and the 'Nagari' letter 'Sri' on the reverse suggests a Maratha origin.

Campbell-Tufnell, on page 78 of his *Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India,* however refers to these snake fanams as coins of the Polygar of the place, but does not say the Polygar was a Maratha.

The Marathas do not appear to have issued any silver coinage in Southern India and it is not easy to explain the omission. It is possible they continued the customary practice of the local rulers who, almost without exception, restricted their currency to the two metals, gold and copper.

Copper.

The Marathas must have imported large quantities of copper currency from Poona and Satara during the earlier years of their entry into Southern India and more would appear to have come in at intervals during their occupation. I have met with a 'double' or 'dhabu' paisa, mentioned by M. G. Ranade in his article, in Southern India. A single half pice **(Pl. IV. 12)** was obtained and confirms half pice were coined, but could not have been in common use. M. G. Ranade asserted there was no fractional denomination below the pice and was certainly not correct in making this statement.

His article did not cover the coinage of the Tanjore Marathas and he apparently did not know of the Southern Indian coinage in gold and copper.

Only one copper paisa **(Pl. IV. 13)** of typically Southern Indian workmanship has been seen by me and is in the British Museum collection. All the other copper coins are either of Satara or Kolhapur and the inscriptions are invariably the same on specimens collected in the south. The obverse reads 'Sri Raja Siva' and reverse 'Chhatrapati'. They must have been issued by several rulers, over a long period, the inscriptions remaining unchanged.

The Rev. J. E. Abbott, in an article entitled "A Preliminary Study of the Shivarai, or Chhatrapati Copper Coins", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol. XX, 1898, has supplied some useful information on the symbols found on the coins. Some of his observations are of interest when examining the paisas coined in Satara and Kolhapur which circulated with the locally coined copper in Southern India.

"Symbols

There are many symbols on these coins, the meaning of many of which can be easily recognised; others are of doubtful significance."

"1. **O** The sun, **∪** the moon, indicating long duration. These are sometimes on either side of the श्री on the reverse, above the word छत्र.

2. A mark usually found over छ, but on one coin it is over the त्र. I do not know its meaning.

3. A cluster of seven dots–

4. Following the छत्र there is usually found the representation of a leaf, or tree- ; perhaps this may be the 'Shami' leaf, offered to Ganpati, to which it bears a resemblance.

5. After the राजा there is a triple leaf, sacred to Shiva– .

6. Other symbols are to be occasionally noticed such as a sword, and many conventional marks and variously arranged dots.

7. The coins commonly have two parallel horizontal lines between the 'Sri' and 'Raja'. A smaller number have a single horizontal line and are, I think, the older."

The copper coins figured on **Pl. IV** are arranged so as to illustrate the older ones first **(Nos. 5-8)** and are followed by **(Nos. 9-12)** which Abbott considered were later.

Coins **(Nos. 13-15** and **18-20)** are from a Southern Indian mint and must have been issued by the Marathas from a mint at Tanjore.

Coins **(Nos. 16 & 17)** have been published previously (R. Sewell, "Some Doubtful Copper Coins of South India," *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII, p. 313) and the inscriptions are said to read 'Maha Raja' on the obverse and 'Mudra' on the reverse.

Dr. P. L. Gupta of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, when in London recently, kindly read the inscription on some of these coins in my collection and was of the opinion the obverse inscription is 'Shah Raja' and consequently the coin should have been issued by Shahji (1687-1711), the second Maratha ruler of Tanjore. These coins are fairly common in the Tanjore district and must have been issued by the Marathas, but as the inscription does not resemble the ordinary Tanjore issues it appears likely they were issued from some other mint within the territory of the Tanjore Marathas.

Coins **(Nos. 21 & 22)**, similarly differ from the normal type and were possibly also issued from some other mint.

Coin **(No. 12)** is a rare half paisa weighing 63.0 grains. The obverse inscription was stated by Dr. Gupta to read 'Sri Raja (Ram) Sahu' and in the details furnished in the Appendix it will be seen there were two rulers at Satara, Shahu I (1708-1749) and Shahu II (1777-1808) and in Kolhapur, Shahu III who commenced his reign in 1883. Shahu III could not have issued the coin as the Rev. Abbott states Shivarai coins were stopped immediately after the commencement of British Rule. He does however refer to a large number of counterfeit paisas issued about the year 1855. It is almost certain this half paisa was coined by either Shahu I or II and the date cannot be later than 1808.

Mr. Justice Ranade in his article on Maratha coins states :

> "The civil arrangements made by Sivaji during his lifetime were entirely dislocated when Aurangzeb invaded the Deccan and the Maratha armies had to abandon the Deccan and retreat to Gingee in Southern India. On Shahu's return to power (c. 1708-1749) he set up a mint at Satara from which gold, silver and copper coins were issued."

This information would appear to date this half paisa to the reign of Shahu I (1708-1749).

Coin **(No. 13)** a paisa in the British Museum collection, weighing 151.6 grains, is the only paisa I know of that was issued in Southern India. It is similar to the other Maratha coins in my collection from Tanjore, and the name of the ruler is Sarabha Raja and must refer to Sarabhoji Raja of Tanjore, (1798-1824), according to the *Madras District Gazetteer-Tanjore*, or to the years (1798-1833) mentioned by Robert Sewell in *The Archaeological Survey of South India*, Vol. II, 1884.

Weights.

Maratha copper coins issued in Southern India were of three denominations and an attempt will be made to assign values to them and to show they fitted into the prevailing weight standards.

The average weight of seventeen paisas from Satara and Kolhapur is 150.0 grains and this weight corresponds with the one paisa of Southern Indian type **(Pl. IV. 13)** which weighs 151.6 grains. Maratha paisas would therefore appear to be the same value as the paisa, of 10 cash, of Southern India.

The next in the Maratha series weigh 52.0 grains, the average weight of fifteen coins. They would represent coins valued 4 cash and this weight and denomination is similar to coins issued by the Dutch, Danes, French and certain Indian rulers in the same area.

Coins of the lowest denomination weigh 34.-0 grains, based on the average weight of six coins. They would have represented 2 cash pieces and once more agreed with the coins of this denomination issued by the European Companies and Indian rulers.

Key to Plate IV.

1. B.M./A/ Pagoda. **Obv.** Siva Standing, facing, with arms raised.

Rev. Granulated, slightly convex.
Weight : 53.1 grains.
There are three coins of this type in the British Museum collection. The weights of the two other coins are 52.3 and 52.7 grains.
Mint : Gingee or Vellore.

2. B.M./A/ Fanam. **Obv.** Sri Raja Siva.

Rev. Chhatrapati.
Weight : 6.0 grains.
Mint : Tanjore.

3. B.M./A/ Half Fanam **Obv.** Sri Raja Siva.

Rev. Chhatrapati.
Weight : 2-7 grains.
Mint: Tanjore.
A thin coin on a broader flan than the fanam.

4. B.M./AV Fanam. **Obv.** Dagger.
Rev. Dots and curved lines. Parts of a debased human figure. Thought to represent either Siva or Kali.
Weight : 5.7 grains.
Mint : Tanjore.
It is possible these fanams were issued from some other mint in the territory of the Tanjore Marathas, if items 2 and 3 are from Tanjore.

5-8. Æ Paisas. **Obv.** Sri Raja Siva.
Rev. Chhatrapati.
Weight : (No. 5) 176.4 grains, (No. 6) 147.0 grains, (No. 7) 123.4 grains, (No. 8) 132.5 grains.
Mint : Satara or Kolhapur.
Coins with single horizontal line between first two lines of inscription on the obverse.

9-11. Æ Paisas. **Obv.** Similar to Nos. 5 to 8.
Rev. " " "
Weight: (No. 9) 147.8 grains, (No. 10) 155.5 grains, (No. 11) 120.0 grains.
Mint : Satara or Kolhapur.

12. Æ Half Paisa **Obv.** Sri Raja (Ram) Sahu.
Rev. Chhatrapati.
Weight : 63.0 grains.
Mint : Satara or Kolhapur.

13. Æ Paisa 10 Cash **Obv.** Sri Sarabha Raja.
Rev. Chhatrapati.
Weight : 151.6 grains.
Mint : Tanjore.
A rare coin (10 cash) in the British Museum collection.

14. Æ 4 Cash. **Obv.** Sri Raja Siva.
Rev. Chhatrapati.
Weight : 51.5 grains.
Mint : Tanjore.
Reverse slightly concave.

15. Æ 4 Cash. **Obv.** Sri Raja Siva.
Rev. Chhatrapati.
Weight : 47.9 grains.
Mint : Tanjore.
Reverse slightly concave.

16-17. Æ 4 Cash. **Obv.** Shah Raja.

Rev. Mudra.
Weight : (No. 16) 54.5 grains, (No. 17) 47.8 grains.
Mint : ?

18. Æ 4 Cash. **Obv.** Sri Siva.

Rev. Chhatrapati.
Weight : 52.6 grains.
Mint : Tanjore.
Reverse slightly concave.

19. Æ 2 Cash. **Obv.** Sri Siva.

Rev. Chhatrapati.
Weight : 31.9 grains.
Mint : Tanjore.

20.B.M./Æ 4 Cash. **Obv.** Sri Raja Siva.

Rev. Chhatrapati.
Weight : 51.6 grains.
Mint : Tanjore.
Coin in the collection of the British Museum.

21. Æ 2 Cash. **Obv.** Sri !

Rev. Lines, horizontal and vertical, consisting of dots and an indistinct Nagari ! letter.
Weight : 35.0 grains.

22. Æ 2 Cash. **Obv.** Siva and parts of other letters, not distinct.

Rev. Part of a design !
Weight : 29.7 grains.
Mint : ?

1. Coins in the British Museum collection, which have been described and illustrated in the note, have the letters B.M. after the numbers in the Key to the Plate.

2. I have to thank Dr. John Walker, C.B.E., Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for permission to publish coins in the Museum collection and for assistance in the preparation of the casts.

APPENDIX

Mention has been made in the text that in order to avoid unduly lengthening the note the particulars, concerning the individual Maratha rulers of the original line, the Satara and Kolhapur branches and the Tanjore rulers, would be furnished in an appendix.

These particulars are necessary when making a more detailed study of their relationship, the length of their reigns and in the attribution of certain coins to particular rulers.

Facts concerning the original kings and the Satara and Kolhapur rulers are from a paper entitled "A Preliminary Study of the Shivarai or Chhatrapati Copper Coins" by the Rev. J.E. Abbott, published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX, 1898. No comments will be added, other than the relationship of succeeding rulers, as the note is principally concerned with the coinage of the Tanjore rulers. Coins issued by the Satara and Kolhapur rulers are of secondary interest and are only included as they were current with the Southern Indian issues.

As the Tanjore coins have not, apparently, been recognised and published previously it is considered a note, describing them, is necessary and should be of interest to students of the coinage of the Marathas. The particulars concerning the Tanjore rulers have been obtained from two sources and these will be quoted separately as there are certain details in which they do not quite correspond.

The first list of Tanjore kings is taken from the *Archaeological Survey of Southern India - Marattas*, Vol. II, by Robert Sewell (1884). This is followed by particulars from the *Madras District Gazetteer - Tanjore*, by F. R. Hemingway, I.C.S., (1915), pp. 41 to 52.

Maratha Kings–Rev. J. E. Abbott. B. A. 1898.

Sivaji I.	1674-1680.	Son of the Maratha General Shahji.
Sambhaji I.	1680-1689.	Son of Sivaji I.
Raja Ram I.	1689-1700.	Son of Sivaji I.

Satara Branch

Sivaji II.	1700-1708.	Son of Raja Ram I.
Shahu I.	1708-1749.	Son of Sambhaji I. Seized power from Sambhaji II in 1708.

Raja Ram II.	1749-1777.	Son of Sivaji II.
Shahu II.	1777-1808.	Son of Raja Ram II.
Pratapsimha	1808-1839.	Son of Shahu II.
Shahaji III.	1839-1840.	Son of Shahu II.

Kolhapur Branch

Sivaji II.	1709-1712.	Son of Raja Ram I.
Sambhaji II.	1712-1760.	Son of Raja Ram I. On being driven out of Satara seized on Kolhapur.
Sivaji III.	1760-1812.	Adopted son of Sambhaji II.
Shambhu	1812-1821.	Son of Sivaji III. No issue.
Shahaji II.	1821-1837.	Son of Sivaji III.
Sivaji IV.	1837-1866.	Son of Shahaji II.
Raja Ram III.	1866-1870.	Adopted son of Shivaji IV.
Narayana Rao alias Sivaji V.	1870-1883.	Adopted son of Raja Ram III.
Shahu III.	1883- ?	Son of Sivaji V.

The Maratha Dynasty of Tanjore. Robert Sewell. 1884.

Ekoji, or Venkaji.		Son of the Maratha General Shahji by his wife Tuka Bhay Mohiti. Ekoji seized Tanjore 1674-75 from the Nayakka Governor. Was threatened by his brother Sivaji in 1677, but made peace with him in 1678.
Shahji I.	(1684-1711).	Son of Ekoji.
Sarfoji.	(1711-1729).	Son of Ekoji. He had no issue.
Tukaji	(1729-1736).	Son of Ekoji.
Baba Saheb.	(1736-1737).	Married Sijan Bhay, who was regent from 1737 to 1740.
Sahuji or Syaji.		Son of Baba Saheb. On being ejected by his brother in 1749, he applied to the English for aid. The fort at Devikottai on the Coleroon was stormed and given to the English, but Sahu had no real power.
Pratapa Simha,		An illegitimate son of Baba Saheb. Wrested the kingdom from his

		brother and held it firmly. Died 1765.
Tulsaji.	(1765-1788).	Son of Pratapa Simha. Was attacked 1767 by the Nawab of Arcot, aided by the English. Tanjore was captured. The Raja was reinstated afterwards. Died 1788.
Amara or Amir Simha.	(1788-1798).	Son of Pratapa Simha. Was placed on the throne in 1788 and governed very badly. The English deposed him in 1798.
Sarfoji.	(1798-1833).	Adopted son of Tulsaji. Placed on throne 1798 on Amara Simha's deposition. In 1799 he handed over the country to the English, receiving a pension.
Sivaji.	(1833-1855).	Son of Sarfoji.
Vijaya Mohan Muktamba Bhay.		Princess of Tanjore. Tanjore annexed 1857.

Tanjore Marathas. F. R. Hemingway. 1915.

Venkaji.	(1674-c.1681).	Son of the Bijapur Maratha General Shahji and brother of the great Sivaji (1627-1680). The length of his reign is as stated by Schwartz. Some authorities say he reigned five years. Wilks represents him as negotiating the sale of Bangalore in, or just before, 1687.
Shahji I.	(1687-1711).	Son of Venkaji. Referred to as 'I' by me as there is a Shahaji II (1821-1837) in the Kolhapur Branch and a Shahji III (1839-1840) in the Satara Branch.
Sarabhoji I.	(1711-1727).	Son of Venkaji.
Tukkoji.	(1728-1735).	Son of Venkaji.
Bava Sahib.	(1735-1736).	Son of Tukkoji, who had five sons, Bava being the eldest.
Sujana Bai.	(1736-1738).	Wife of Bava Sahib.

Savai Shahji
Sidduji
Kitu Raja (The forest king). (1738 for a few months). This ruler had three names. A pretended nephew of Tukkoji. He claimed he was the son of Sarabhoji, the elder brother of Tukkoji, who, in reality, had died without issue. He was ousted by Saiyaji who was also a son of Tukkoji.

Saiyaji. (1738-1739) and (1749-1763). Second son of Tukkoji. He was deposed in 1739 or 1740 and Pratap Singh, another son of Tukkoji was placed on the throne (an illegitimate son). He was restored by the Madras Government in 1749 on certain conditions.

Chanda Sahib, the Nawab of Arcot was probably responsible for his deposition in 1739. Chanda Sahib was captured in 1741 by the Marathas and kept a prisoner until 1749. Released that year, through French intervention, his first action was to attempt to reduce Tanjore. Chanda Sahib gave himself up to the Marathas when too heavily pressed by the joint English and French forces. The Maratha General Mankoji had him murdered in 1752.

Tulsaji. (1763-1787). Son of Pratapa Singh. He had an adopted son Sarabhoji, but the adoption was declared invalid in 1787 and he was placed under the guardianship of his uncle Amar Singh. He was removed to Madras in 1792 due to his uncle's cruel treatment.

General Smith besieged Tanjore and captured it in 1773. Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot, was put in possession of the country and the Maratha King and his family taken prisoners. On the

		11th April 1776 the Maratha King was reinstated.
		Tanjore territory occupied by Haidar Ali from May to November 1781, when he laid waste the Carnatic, a second time, in 1780-81.
Amar Singh.	(1787-1798).	Brother of Tulsaji. He was pensioned off in 1798 when Sarabhoji was reinstated.
Sarabhoji II.	(1798-1799-1824).	The adopted son of Tulsaji. In 1799 Tanjore became a British possession and a suitable allowance made to the young Raja. His authority was however acknowledged over the fort and a small circle round it. In 1841, however, it was still further reduced to the fort only.
Sivaji.	(1824-1855).	Son of Sarabhoji II. He died without male issue in 1853. Title of Raja held by the Court of Directors to be extinct. Three Queens outlived him and were permitted to occupy the Palace.

MISCELLANEA

1

WERE DRAMMA COINS ISSUED IN GOLD ?

Dramma is a Sanskritised form of the Greek word *drachma*, which denoted both a weight and a coin. It was the unit of coinage in Greece. Its weight was 67.5 grains. Some of the silver coins issued by Indo-Bactrian kings were *drachmas* weighing about 65 grains. The Indo-Greeks also issued hemi-drachms, which were later imitated in their silver coins by the Śaka Kshatrapas, the Guptas, the Traikūṭakas and the early Kalachuri king Kṛishṇarāja. The term *dramma* is not, however, noticed in early Sanskrit literature or inscriptions. The hemidrachms of Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja were known as *Krishṇa-rāja-rūpakas*.[1]

D. R. Bhandarkar says that the earliest mention of the *drammas* occurs in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja of the Pratīhāra dynasty dated V. 933,[2] but a still earlier record mentioning the coin is the Kanheri Cave inscription of Pullaśakti,[3] dated Śaka [765], which belongs to the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarsha I. This inscription was edited by Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 136 ff. It was not illustrated with a facsimile plate. According to Kielhorn's reading, this inscription records first some gifts to the Buddhist Saṅgha of Kaṇhagiri (modern Kānherī) in *drammas* and, in the last line, one more of 120 *Kāñchana-drammas*.[4] From this Altekar infers that the gifts mentioned first were those of ordinary or silver *drammas* and that mentioned last was of gold *drammas*.[5] Many other scholars have taken the same view. Thus D. R. Bhandarkar, though he says that the name *dramma* was restricted to silver coins only, refers to this inscription as mentioning *kāñchana-drammas*.[6] He identifies these latter with the gold coins issued by the Kalachuris, the Chandellas and the Gāhaḍavālas. Vincent Smith had earlier used the same term while describing the gold coins of these dynasties.[7] A. S.

1. *CII*, IV, p. 151.
2. *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 206.
3. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 136.
4. It must be said in fairness to Kielhorn that he was doubtful about the reading *kāṁchana* as he has shown it in brackets.
5. *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times, pp. 364 ff.*
6. *Lectures* etc., p. 209.
7. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, pp. 147ff.; *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 251.

Altekar[1] and R. C. Agrawala[2] were also inclined to agree with this view. The latter pointed out the mention of the gold *drammas* of Vīsaladeva.[3] Cf. *Raukma Vīsalaprī drā* 200. This seems to refer to gold *drammas*. Since no such gold coins have yet been discovered, Lallanji Gopal is inclined to take *raukma* to be a mistake for *raukya* meaning cash.[4] A. K. Majumdar, however, thinks that there were *drammas* both of gold and silver. He has drawn attention to an inscription which mentions the daily grant of one *rūpaka* and the annual grant of one *dramma* to a temple. As the annual grant of one *dramma* would be small, he argues that the *dramma* must have been of gold.[5] But as Lallanji Gopal has pointed out, 'the inscription refers to two different grants and there is nothing to suggest that they stand for the same grant in terms of a daily and an annual award.'[6]

Mediaeval inscriptions use different terms to refer to gold and silver coins. Thus the Cambay plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV mention the king's gift of three lakhs of *suvarṇas* to Brāhmaṇas and of four lakhs of *suvarṇas* and thirty-two lakhs of *drammas* to temples on the occasion of his coronation.[7] His father Indra III made a similar gift of twenty lakhs of *drammas* at the time of his own coronation.[8] In these passages the term *suvarṇa* is used to denote a gold coin and *dramma* to denote a silver coin. Later, the common term to denote a gold coin was *gadyāṇaka*. *Gadyāṇakas* and *drammas* are used to denote gold and silver coins respectively in several inscriptions of the Śilāhāras[9] and the Yādavas[10] down to the thirteenth century A. D. I have shown elsewhere from the mention of *Kumāra-gadyāṇaka* in the inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas that *gadyāṇakas* were also probably current as gold coins in North India.[11]

Now the question arises, 'Were *drammas* ever known as gold coins'? The only evidence so far known about the

1. *The Rāshṭrakūṭas* etc., pp. 64-65.
2. *JNSI*, XVII, p. 77.
3. Loc. cit., p. 78.
4. *JNSI*, XXV, p. 4. *Raukya* in the sense of silver occurs in the stone inscription of Maṭhagaon, line 5. See Tulpule, *Ancient Marathi Inscriptions* (Marathi), p. 297.
5. *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 273 ff.
6. *JNSI*, XXV, p. 3.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 40.
8. Ibid., VIII, pp. 24 ff.
9. See the Kharepatan plates of Raṭṭarāja, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 301, which mention *Suvarṇa-gadyāṇakas* and the plates of Mummuṇirāja, dated Ś. 971 (ibid., XXV, p. 62), which mention *drammas*.
10. See the Nandgaon inscription of Krishṇa wich mentions *gadyāṇas*. References to *drammas* occur in several Yādava inscriptions.
11. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III, pp. 144 ff.

currency of gold *drammas* is the afore-mentioned Kānherī inscription of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarsha I. In the last line of this record Kielhorn read [*kāṁchana*]-*dramma-śataṁ viṁśat-yuttaraṁ*, i. e. one hundred and twenty gold *dramma* coins. Kielhorn's edition of this record was not accompanied by a facsimile, and though no other reference to gold *drammas* was known, scholars tacitly accepted the view that gold *drammas* also, as distinguished from silver ones, were current in the mediaeval times, as none would question the high authority of Kielhorn. Recently, I had occasion to study this record from a good estampage kindly supplied by Mr. M.N. Deshpande of the Archæological Department. I found to my great surprise that the reading *kāṁchana-dramma-śataṁ* is not supported by the facsimile of the record.[1] I attach herewith a facsimile of the relevant portion of the last line of the record. It will be seen that the correct reading of the portion in question is *ekaṁ dramma-śataṁ viṁśaty-uttaraṁ*, not [*kāṁchana*]-*dramma-śataṁ viṁśaty-uttaraṁ*, as given by Kielhorn. This should now dispose of the wrong notion held by scholars for a long time that *drammas* were coined also in gold.

The gold coins current in the mediaeval age were called *suvarṇas, nishkas, ṭaṅkas* or *gadyāṇas*, but not *drammas*. On the other hand *drammas* as silver coins are mentioned in several records of the age, both of North and South India.

V. V. MIRASHI

2

SOME RARE COPPER COINS

[Plate I]

The coins to be described below belong to the private collection of Shri Janeshwar Das, Retd. Manager, Court of Wards, Allahabad. In addition to these coins, he possesses a treasure of copper coins which may reveal the names of many new rulers of the regions of their provenence.

1. Uninscribed cast coin from Kauśāmbī.

Copper ; round, diam. 0.9″ ; weight 6.962 grammes.

Obv. Trees in railings on right and left. An indistinct symbol in the centre resembling .

Rev. Bull standing to left, Ujjain symbol above haunch.

(Pl. I, 1)

1. See the attached plate.

Extract from line 5 of the Kanheri Cave Inscription dated Ś. [765]—

[चत्वा]रिंशदिह । एकं द्रम्मशतं विंशत्युत्त[रं]

Prof. Kielhorn's reading (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136)—

—च्चत्वारिंश[त्कांचन]द्रम्मशतं विंशत्युत्तरं

The group of symbols found on the obverse of the present specimen is not found on other uninscribed cast coins published so far. It therefore seems to be a new variety of uninscribed cast coins from Kauśāmbī.

2. Coin of Bhānumitra from Ahichchatra.

Copper; round, diam. 0.8″; weight 5.564 grammes.

Obv. Standing human figure (female ?) facing, legend *Bhānumitra* executed parallel to it. No usual Pañchāla symbol traceable.

Rev. Artistic design resembling a foliage; above the foliage a round disc; reversed *triratna* symbols on either side of the foliage.

(Pl. I. 2)

V. A. Smith has published an identical coin[1] of Bhānumitra in the *Indian Museum Catalogue*, but his coin preserves only the bust of the lady and its reverse side is defaced. The coin described above is well preserved. Thus only two coins of this ruler of the above variety are so far known from Ahichchhatra.

3. Coin of Śeshadatta from Kauśāmbī.

Brass; round, daim. 0.7″; Weight 6.500 grammes.

Obv. Above legend *Rājño Śeshadatas* in circular fashion.

Below standing human figure (female ?) in the centre; tree on right.

Rev. Obliterated.

(Pl. I. 3)

In the introduction of the *British Museum Catalogue*[2], Allan has stated that Rapson published three specimens of Śeshadatta's coins from the White King collection in *JRAS*, 1900, P. 110, Nos. 9-11, which have standing Lakshmī, tree on right and legend *Rājño Śeshadatas* on the obverse and three elephants type in the reverse. He further informs us that Sir Richard Burn also has three coins of the same ruler. Allan himself published one coin[3] of this type which he read incorrectly as *Rājñaḥ Gośadatas*. But in the introduction, he acknowledged his fault. Thus seven coins of this ruler were known to Allan and one more coin was found at Hastināpur.[4] The coin under discussion therefore is the ninth one. These coins have been attri-

1. *IMC*, I, p. 187, Bhānumitra, No. 2; pl. XXII. 3.
2. *BMC*, pp. Cx.
3. *BMC*, pp. 174, (31a), pl. XLIII. 18.
4. Excavations at Hastinapur, *Ancient India*, Nos. 10-11, 1954-55, pl. LIX. 11, pp. 103.

buted to Mathurā but the present specimen was found at Kauśāmbī by the said collector, which is a bit revealing.

4. Unidentified cast copper coin from Kauśāmbī.

Copper ; round, diam. 0.8″ ; Weight 6.469 grammes.

Obv. Standing human figure on the left, tree-in-railing on the right.

Rev. Standing female figure facing with upraised right hand. Indistinct legend (?) on either side of the figure. **(Pl. I. 4)**

So far no specimen of this type of cast copper coin from Kauśambī has come to light. It is one of the new types of the inscribed cast coins from Kauśāmbī.

5. Coin of Varuṇa from Kauśāmbī.

Copper ; round, diam. 0.8″, weight 8.682 grammes.

Obv. Above symbols corroded. Below, legend [*Va*]-*runasa*[1].

Rev. Animal (bull ?) to right, highly corroded. **(Pl. I. 5)**

A large number of coins of Varuṇamitra from Kauśāmbī are present in the coin cabinet of the Allahabad Museum. But no coin of this size has been traced as yet. Present specimen is of a thicker and larger variety with a difference in the legend too. In the present coin, the legend is [*Va*]*runasa* whereas in other coins it is *Varunamitasa*. Therefore, it can be held that Varuṇa and Varuṇamitra are two different rulers of Kauśāmbī, more so as the letters of the legend also differ a bit in texture. For comparison, photograph of smaller variety is also given in **Pl. I. 5a.**[2] One coin with *Varunasa* has recently been acquired in the Allahabad Museum with a tree in railing and the legend *Varunasa* parallel to it on the obverse while the reverse is highly crusted.

6. Coin of Sa(?)pamita from Kauśāmbī.

Copper ; round, diam. 0.9″ ; weight 7.744 grammes.

Obv. Above *jayadhwaja*(?) on the left ; tree-in-railing in the centre ; small Ujjain symbol on the extreme right. Below, legend *Sa*(?)*pamitasa.*

Rev. Animal (bull?), highly crusted. **(Pl. I. 6)**

1. The coin concerned does not appear to contain *Va—Editor.*
2. The author has not described this coin. It shows on its obverse a tree-in-railing, below which is *Varunamita...*, and the reverse has a humped bull—*Editor.*

First letter of the legend in the present coin is indistinct. Only *pamitasa* is clear. No coin of Sarpamitra has so far come to light. Thus, this coin may be attributed to a new ruler of Kauśāmbī.

7. Coins of Varuṇamitra from Ahichchatra.

(i) Copper ; round ; diam. 0.5″, weight 1.120 grammes. **(Pl. I. 7)**

(ii) ,, ,, ,, .5″ ,, 1.144 grammes. **(Pl. I. 7a)**

Obv. Above three usual Pañchāla symbols ; below, legend *Varunamita...*

Rev. Two trees side by side.

Earlier, A. Ghose published one coin[1] of this ruler. He had obtained three coins of this ruler from Ahichchhatra, but not all of them were in good condition. Moreover, only obverse was published by Ghose and nothing was so far known about the reverse of these coins. The specimens described above are well preserved and both the obverse as well as the reverse are clear in them. In the coins of Varuṇamitra found at Kauśāmbī, one difference is worth observation. Kauśāmbī coins have letter *Na* while the Ahichchhatra coins have *Ṇa* in the legends. The coins described above are of the same size and contain same symbols on either side.

8. Coin of ...gavamasa from Kauśāmbī.
Bronze ; round, diam. 0.8″ ; weight 3.960 grammes.

Obv. Inside a rectangular incuse, symbol on the left ; indistinct Ujjain symbol in the centre ; tree-in-railing on the right. Below, legend [...] *gavamasa.*

Rev. Horse standing to right before a pole (*Yupa*).

(Pl. I. 8)

The first letter of the legend could not be deciphered rightly. It may be suggested as *Ha* or *Pa*. Thus the legend becomes (*Pa ?*)*gavamasa* or (*Ha ?*)*gavamasa*, but nothing could be said with certainty. One thing, however, is certain that this coin was issued by a ruler of Kauśāmbī who was not so far known.

R. R. TRIPATHI

1. *JNSI*, V, pt. I, pp. 17.

3

KṚISHṆARĀJA-RŪPAKA

[Plate I]

Recently, in January 1963, I had been to Akola for my field work. Miss Malati Rajurkar, neice of the late Mr. M.V. Deshmukh, kindly handed over this coin to me. The late Mr. Deshmukh had the hobby of collecting coins and the present coin belongs to his personal collection.

The coin can be assigned to Kṛishṇarāja of the Kalachuri family. Prof. Mirashi has given the very interesting history of the interpretation of the coins of Kṛishṇarāja.[1]

The present coin may be described as follows:

Silver alloy; round, diam. 1.15 cm.; weight 1.8 grammes.

Obv. Head of the king with moustaches to right, no trace of date or inscription.

Rev. Seated *Nandī*, a stroke, three dots below which is another stroke. **(Pl. I. 9)**

The circular legend is incomplete as the right side of the coin is cut off. It starts from VII as:

......*tr padanudhyata sra krśnara......*
i.e. .. *tr pādānudhyāta Śrī Kṛshṇa rā...*

As regards the head of the king, it can be said that the style of portrayal is like that of the western Kshatrapas. Siva's *Nandī* in the standing posture can be observed on Kushāṇa coins, on the lead coins of Svāmī Rudrasena III[2], and on the copper coins of Nāga rulers,[3] but seated *Nandī* facing right is found only on the silver coins of Skandagupta and Kṛishṇarāja.[4]

The chief interest of the coins of Kṛishṇarāja lies in the epithet of the king. Kṛshṇarāja dropped the patronymic and royal titles and adopted instead the epithet *Mātāpitṛipādānudhyāta* which, according to Prof. Mirashi, is "an expression noticed nowhere else in Indian Numismatics."[5]

1. *JNSI*, III, p. 21.
2. Rapson E. J., *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, p. 187.
3. Altekar. A. S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire* p. 250.
4. *JNSI*, III, p. 23.
5. *JNSI*, III, p. 23.

The title *Mātāpitripādānudhyāta* can be traced to the copper-plates of Dahrasena[1] and Vyāghrasena[2] of the Traikūṭaka family. It also occurs in the copper-plates of Saṅgamasiṁha.[3] In the records of Saṅkaragaṇa[4] and Buddharāja, Kṛishṇarāja is given the same epithet. The same title can be noticed in the copper plates of Maṅgaleśa who fought with Sankaragaṇa's son Buddharāja.[5] As regards the royal titles, Gupta influence can be traced in the official documents of the Kalachuris. Like the title *Parambhāgavata* of the Guptas, the Kalachuris adopted the epithet *Parama Māheśvaras*, but the distinguishing title *Mātāpitrapādānudhyāta* makes the Kalachuri coins unique in the field of Indian numismatics.

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

4

A COPPER COIN OF THE NEPALESE KING AṀŚUVARMAN

[Plate I]

The coin published below belongs to my friend Shri S. B. Kulkarni of Nagpur, Retd. Chief Artist, Government of Maharashtra. He had purchased it from a scrap dealer in Karachi several years ago. When he brought it to me for identification along with several others in his collection, its affinity with Nepalese coins was brought to my notice by Shri V. P. Rode, of the Nagpur Museum; the latter also obliged me with a photograph of the coin. I am thankful to Shri Kulkarni for kindly allowing me to publish it in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.

The coin is a perfect circular piece, 2·51 cms. in diameter and about 3 mms. in thickness. Its weight is 14·880 grammes corresponding to about 229½ grains. It may be described as follows :

Obv. Within a circle of pellets, winged lion standing with one of its forefoot raised ; curved tail upturned on back. Marginal legend in 7th century Gupta characters, reading *Śrā(m)śu-varma*.

1. *CII*, IV, p. 24.
2. Op. cit., p. 25.
3. Op. cit., p. 33.
4. Op. cit., p. 47.
5. Op. cit., p. 54.

Rev. Lion to left, with forefoot upraised and enclosed in a circular border of pellets as on the obverse; crescent near the head of the lion. **(Pl. I. 10)**

This coin belongs Aṁśuvarman of the Ṭhākuri dynasty who is known to have ruled in Gupta Samvat 316 (=A.D. 634) in Nepal. He was the son-in-law of Viśvadeva-varman of the Sūryavaṁśī dynasty and two of his inscriptions from Devapāṭaṇa have already been published by Bhagwanlal Indraji.[1] Three of his coins were first published by Cunningham in *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. XIII, 4-6 and the coin published here is closely related to his Pl. XIII, Fig. 6. The Asiatic Society of Bengal possessed three more coins of this ruler, which came from a lot of 40 coins given by Dr. Gimlette, the Resident Surgeon of Kathmandu, to V. A. Smith.[2] The latter edited them in the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 283, without illustrations. He remarks that the coins of Aṁśuvarman are allied to the Yaudheya coinage and descended from the Kushāṇa fabric.

The present coin agrees with coin No. 1 of the ASB collection and thus there is no difficulty regarding the identification of the ruler who issued this coin.

The study of the copper coinage of Aṁśuvarman however reveals that many dies were used for coins of the 'Winged Lion' type and their weights were also at variance. The die use d for Cunningham's coin No. 6 shows that on its obverse therewere 14 pellets in a circle in addition to the space occupied by the arc forming the legend. The coin published here has 21 pellets instead. As regards the reverse, Cunningham's coin has 19 pellets in the marginal circle, whereas on the present coin it consists of 26 pellets. Some difference is also to be noted in the execution of the figure of the lion. The winged figure on the obverse of the *CAI* coin is shown with two strokes comprising the wings; whereas in the present coin, these are executed in a broad single stroke. The reverse of the *CAI* coin is much blurred, but the specimen published here shows very clearly the hinder part of the animal in graceful curves.

The weight of Cunningham's coin is recorded as 169 grains; whereas a similar coin from the ASB collection weighs a little less i. e. 163 grains, a loss probably due to wear and tear; but the weight of the present specimen, which is roughly 229½ grains (14.880 grammes) indicates that no uniformity was

1. *Ind. Ant.*, IX, pp. 170-171; Inscr. Nos. 7-8.
2. A note on Dr. Gimlette's Nepalese coins by Smith and Hoernle appears also in the *Proc. ASB*, May, 1887.

maintained in this respect. As cited already, it was also struck from a different die.

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

5

CHANDELLA COINS DESCRIBED IN PHERU'S DRAVYAPARĪKSHĀ

The coins of the Chandellas are rather rare. Early Chandella rulers are not known to have issued any coins, in spite of the prominent role they played in the history of the country. But Kīrtivarman, who succeeded in driving out the Chedis from his country and made his kingdom independent once again, appears to have signalised the event by starting the Chandella series of coins which is known to have been continued by his successors, Sallakshaṇavarman, Jayavarman, Pṛithvīvarman, Madanvarman, Paramardin, Trailokyavarman and Vīravarman. A coin of Vīravarman, in whose reign the Chandella coinage has been presumed to have come to an end, has been discussed and described by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.[1] We are now lucky to have a little more information about some Chandella coins from the *Dravyaparīkshā* of Thakkura Pheru, the mint-master of the Khaljī Sultāns, Alā-ud-dīn and Qutb-ud-dīn. Pheru carries the account of the Chandella coinage up to the reign of Bhojavarman and introduces the name of a new ruler called Hīrāvarman who has to be identified.

The relevant verses from the *Dravyaparīkshā* are the following :

Mahovayassa muddā tullo ikkassa saḍḍha chaumāsā |
saṁjoya tinni dhāū pihu pihu nāmehi taṁ bhaṇimo ||69||
ruva kaṇaya guṁja chau chau taṁbau guṇavīsa Vīravaṁbho ya|
mullu chauvīsa Jaithala Hīravaṁbhassa vāvīsaṁ ||70||
taṁbu aḍhāi māsā ruppu suvanno ya ikku ikko ya |
Tiloyavaṁbha mullaṁ chhattīsaṁ viviha Bhojassa ||71||

Along with these *gāthās*, Pheru has given the following explanatory table :

24 *Vīravaramu Māsā* 4½		*Tridhātu*	
	Sonau	*Rūpau*	*Trāmbā*
	Ratī 4	*Ratī* 4	*Ratī* 19

1. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III, pp. 125-8.

22 *Hīrāvaramu Māsā* 4½		*Tridhātu*	
	Sonau	*Rūpau*	*Trāmbā*
	Ratī 3¾	*Ratī* 3¾	*Ratī* 19½
36 *Trilokavaramu*		*Māsā* 4½	
	Māsā 1 *Sona*	*Māsā* 1 *Rūpau*	*Māsā* 2½ *tāmbā*

Bhoja nānā-taulya vividha-maulya
Tridhātu-saṁbhava

It is obvious from the *gāthās* and the tables that the coins of Mahobā known to Pheru were made from an alloy of gold, silver and copper, and each one of the coins of Vīravarman, Hīrāvarman, and Trailokyavarman described here weighed 4½ *māsakas*, though their value differed on account of the varying amounts of the metals in them. The coins of Vīravarman, for instance, were of a three-metalled (tridhātu) alloy containing gold, silver and copper respectively in the proportions of 4, 4, and 19. The market value of the Vīravaramu coin was 24 *jaithals* or *jitals*. It is difficult to determine correctly the chronological position of the issuer of the second set of coins, the Hīrāvaramus of Pheru. But as he was known to our author he has to be put before 1320 A.D. and might have intervened between Bhoja (known date 1288 A. D.) and Hammīravarman (known date 1308 A. D.). His coins were a little more debased than those of Vīravarman as the three metals, gold, silver and copper, were used respectively in the proportion of 3¾, 3¾ and 19½. The net weight of the coin was 4½ *māsas*, as in the case of the *Vīravaramus* but its market value was 22 *jaithalas*. The glory of the reign of Trailokyavarman, who successfully defied the armed might of the Sultāns of Delhi, is reflected in his coins which, though of the same weight as the coins we have discussed just now, had gold, silver and copper respectively in the proportion of 1, 1 and 2½ and commanded the market price of 36 *jaithalas* or *jitals*. Bhojavarman's coins were of various weights and naturally therefore of varying value.

Pheru's information can be used also in determining the price of the three metals. But we are not sure whether the gold used in all these coins was of one standard. But even if it were, we should leave this task to the competent hands of mathematicians.

Pheru's book is a mine of information regarding the coins in Alāuddīn's treasury; and of these coins there were numerous types, Hindu as well as non-Hindu, contemporary as well as non-contemporary. Early publication of a well-annotated edition of this book should have a high priority with numismatists.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

6

ON ALIF COINS OF AKBAR

Mr. H. N. Wright in his mint notes in the *Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* wrote that "all the Akbar's issues of Urdu mintage bear the date الف = 1000 until the thirty-seventh year"; and further added that "Alif Coins were issued between 987 and 1000 Abt. irrespective of the actual Hijra date."

Again, R. B. Whitehead in his mint notes in the *Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Central Museum, Lahore,* (now in West Pakistan) wrote that "all Akbar's issues from the Urdu Zafar Qarin mint bear the date الف = 1000, until the thirty-fifth year. It is open to question whether all these Alif coins were issued in the year 1000 A.H."

Now let us study this matter afresh in the light of the contemperary historical literature and the numismatic evidence available in the various coin cabinets, public and private.

Mullah Abdul Qadir Badaoni in his *Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh,* while giving a vivid and elaborate description of the Nauroz festivities beginning on the fifteenth Safar Nine hundred and ninety A.H. corresponding to the twenty-seventh regnal year of Akbar, wrote that one thousand years since the assumption of the title of Prophet of Islam being over, he (His Majesty) under the spell of pride had declared that one thousand years of the age of Islam were over and there ought, therefore, be no hitch in declaring the truth. And the first order that His Majesty had passed, was to stamp the date Alif الف = 1000, on coins.[1]

Abdul Qadir Badaoni was close to the court of Akbar; and it may safely be accepted without a shadow of doubt that Arabic date Alif الف = 1000 was stamped on Akbar's coins for the first time in 990 A.H. corresponding to the 27th Ilahi year, to publicly announce that the millennium of the Islamic Dispensation had approached. The Alif الف date was stamped on the gold, silver as well as copper coins of Akbar struck at

1. "و چون هزار سال هجری سپری شده و در زعم خویش مقرر ساختند که هزار سال از زمان لقب پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و اله و سلم که مدت بقائی این دین بود تمام شد... اول حکمی که فرمودند این بود که در سکه تاریخ الف نویسند"—پانزدہم صفر سنه تسعین و تسعمایه شروع سال بلیست و هشتم از جلوس

But really it is the 27th Ilahi (منتخب التواریخ) year and not the 28th as recorded by Badaoni. Abdul Qadir Badaoni was generally out by a year in recording the Ilahi years corresponding to the Hijra years.

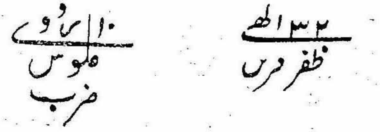
the Urdu Zafar Qarin mint.[1] The question of affixing Alif الف date on Akbar's coins, therefore, earlier than 990 A.H. does not at all arise.

The Ilahi Era was adopted sometime in the year 992 A.H. (corresponding to the 29th Ilahi year), beginning on Wednesday the 28th Rabi-us-Save, nine hundred and sixty-three Hijra,[2] as recorded by Abul Fazl in the "*Ain*" as well as *Akbarnama*, and also by Badaoni in his *Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh*.

There is a mintless jalālāh (square rupee) of Akbar in the Lahore Museum bearing the Ilahi date thirty, the earliest known so far. There are some copper fulus of the Ilāhābās mint in the Lahore Museum as well as Rao Harnarain Singh Dhan Singh collection of antiquities bearing the Ilahi date thirty-first, earliest known so far on copper coins of Akbar. There is also a copper fulus of Akbar of the Urdu Zafar Qarin mint bearing the Ilahi date, thirty-second or thirty-fourth in the latter private cabinet. The portion on the right of the vertical stroke of the unit figure being not very distinct, the unit figure may be two or four (۲ or ۳).[3] Moreover, none of the mints of Akbar struck one and the same coin once bearing the Hijra date and again with the corresponding Ilahi date simultaneously. It may, therefore, be presumed that Akbar's Alif coins were struck for three consecutive years, viz. 990, 991 and 992 A. H.

All the Alif coins of Akbar-gold, silver and copper, seem to have been purposely issued from the peripatetic mint of Urdu Zafar Qarin or Muaskar-i-Iqbal (اُردو ظفرقرین-معسکراقبال) which was deemed to be the most appropriate agency to proclaim all over the empire the end of a thousand years of Islamic teaching as preached by Muhammad of Mecca and Madina. The intervening period of three years, viz. 990 to 992 A. H., was thought adequate for the purpose of preparing the ground amongst the Muslim masses for ushering in the Ilahi Era or the "Tarikh-i-Ilahi" as Akbar was pleased to name this era under divine inspiration or as ordained by Divinity (بالقائی ربانی).

1. The other name for the Urdu Zafar Qarin mint was Muaskiri-Iqbal (معسکر اقبال), "*Ain*".
2. "نوروز جمال افروز سال اول آغاز شد از بلیست و هشتم ربیع‌الثانی نهصد و سفت و سنه هلالی"
Akbarnama.
3. **Obverse** **Reverse**



The orthodox, bigotted and fanatic Sunni Mullas tried to inflame and excite the Muslim masses against the orientation of religious policies and unorthodox ways of the great Akbar. Some effective and dynamic measure was, therefore, required to bring about a psychological transformation amongst the muslims. The 'Alif' coinage struck at the itinerary mint of Urdu-Zafar-Qarin was a technique used to indoctrinate the muslims at large.

UTTAM SINGH RAO

7

SHAH JAHAN AND HIS RUPEES OF AJMER MINT

The earliest reference to a rupee of Shah Jahan of Ajmer mint is probably one which occurs in a sale of the collection of Sir J. A. Bourdillon conducted by J. Schulman at Amsterdam on 18-11-1907. The coin is included under "Les Grands Mogols d'Hindostan"; the item is No. 1633. No date or regnal year appears in the description and the coin is not illustrated.

Dr. R. B. Whitehead has discussed this coin with me and in a recent letter connected with the same subject has suggested I should submit a short note in which it should be shown that no coin of Ajmer mint actually exists.

Dr. Whitehead has also stated in another letter of the 20th June 1963 that he had included the coin under Ajmer in his article on the "Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors"—*JASB*, 1912—on the strength of the reference quoted in para one.

H. Nelson Wright, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. III, Pt. I, 1908, page XXIV of the Introduction, stated that Shah Jahan can have struck but little at Ajmer as his issues are represented by a single rupee which is in the Lucknow Museum collection.

Dr. R. B. Whitehead, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. II, 1914, page XXIX, under Mint Notes, furnishes almost the same information as H. Nelson Wright, but goes on to mention that the mint at Ajmer was revived by Aurangzeb about the thirtieth year of his reign and that it worked regularly for the production of rupees down to its close.

C. J. Brown in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, Vols. I & II, 1920, on page 161, catalogues

the coin, No. 1824, referred to by both H. Nelson Wright and Dr. R. B. Whitehead. The date is suggested may be A. H. 1041 and the month 'Aban'. The weight of the coin is shown as 174 grains, the diameter 0.75 inches and it is illustrated on Plate VIII. A reference to the illustration shows that only شهرابان ماه can be read. He also catalogues a rupee of Kashmir mint on page 204, No. 266, without date but with the regnal year 4 and month 'Tir'. The weight of this coin is stated to be 175 grains, the diameter 0.75 inches and it is illustrated on Plate IX. The name of the mint is clear and reads کشمیر تیر ماه

On comparing the illustrations of the two coins in Brown's *Catalogue* it will be seen that they are almost identical in general appearance as regards their weights and diameters. The only discernible difference is in the name of the month.

We are both agreed that coin No. 1824 on page 161 is a rupee of Kashmir mint, as apart from this rupee issues of Shah Jahan from Ajmer mint are unknown. The coin in the Bourdillon collection has been mentioned, but no reliance can be placed on the attribution as particulars of the date, regnal year or month are not furnished in the description, nor is the coin illustrated to help in identifying the mint.

Until a rupee of this mint with name reading اجمیر does turn up and is described and illustrated, it is safe to delete Ajmer as a mint of Shah Jahan from which rupees were issued.

C. H. BIDDULPH

8

COINS OF THE NAWABS OF ARCOT

An article on the coinage of the Nawabs published in the *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, 1962, contained a reference, on page 64, to two doubtful mints in Southern India from which rupees could possibly have been issued.

One of the mints was Alamgirpur, which was thought by H. Nelson Wright to be the town of that name near Kurnool. Sir Richard Burn had, however, considered Bhilsa had been renamed Alamgirpur, but Nelson Wright doubted his attribution and attempted to explain his difficulty in his note against this mint. (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. XXVII of the Introduction).

Confirmation of the accuracy of Sir Richard Burn's assertion has been furnished by Dr. R. B. Whitehead, on receipt of the *Journal*, Vol. XXIV, 1962.

An extract from his letter, containing particulars connected with Item 15 of the Agenda of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India for the year 1918, held in the rooms of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 31st January 1919 with Dr. Whitehead in the chair, will be furnished.

I must thank Dr. Whitehead for his interest in furnishing the information, which was not readily available, as also for the discussion I had with him on the subject on the 19th June 1963. It is now possible to eliminate Alamgirpur from consideration as a mint of the Nawabs, as Bhilsa is in Gwalior State.

> "Item 15 of the proceedings records that Mr. G. J. M. Hamilton showed three farmans, one of Aurangzeb, A. H. 1080, 12 R., and two of the reign of Muhammad Shah which contained references to Alamgirpur-urf-Bhilsa. These documents prove beyond doubt that Alamgirpur was the name given to Bhilsa in the early years of Aurangzeb. The Secretary (myself) is able to prove from numismatic evidence that the change occurred in Aurangzeb's third year. For the numismatic evidence please compare the *Lucknow Museum Catalogue*, 1920, by C. J. Brown, Coin No. 2756 with No. 3111.
>
> I trust you will agree that this settles the matter; if so, I shall be grateful if you will mention it in your next paper. It is a great pity that the proceedings get so little publicity."

The question of the elimination of Alamgirpur as a Southern Indian mint is given further support from particulars furnished under Bhilsa in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VIII, pages 105 to 107; an extract is appended for easy reference.

> "*Bhilsa Town* (*Bhelsa*). Gwalior State. Central India. Situated in 23° 31′ N. and 77° 49′ E. and 535 miles from Bombay. Situated on the east bank of the Betwa River.
>
> Under Akbar it formed the headquarters of one of the Mahals of the Sarkar of Raisen in the Subah of Malwa.
>
> The religious intolerance of Aurangzeb led to the destruction of the fine Vijaya Mandir and many other temples in A. D. 1682. At the same time the town was renamed Alamgirpur, but the new name never came into general use.
>
> In the eighteenth century it was granted by Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, then Governor of Malwa, to the Nawab

of Bhopal, but passed soon after into the possession of the Peshwa. It came into Sindhia's hands in A. D. 1775 and has since formed part of Gwalior State."

Alamgirpur, or Bhilsa, is thus a town in Gwalior State and about a thousand miles north of Kurnool and cannot be the same as Alamgirpur near Kurnool in Southern India mentioned by H. Nelson Wright in the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. III, 1908, p. XXVII (Introduction) and by Dr. R. B. Whitehead in the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. II, p. LXXXIX (Mint Notes).

From the *Gazetteer* it appears that Bhilsa was renamed Alamgirpur about the year A. D. 1682 (A. H. 1094/95), but coin No. 3111 in the collection of Provincial Museum, Lucknow, referred to by Dr. Whitehead, has the regnal year 3 and would refer to either A.H. 1070 or 1071.

H. Nelson Wright in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. III, p. 144, No. 1233, refers to a rupee of Aurangzeb Alamgir of Alamgirpur mint of the year A. H. 1076.

It would therefore appear correct to accept the evidence of the change in the name from coins bearing the regnal year 3 (A. H. 1070 or 1071—A. D. 1659 or 1660) and H. Nelson Wright's coin No. 1233 dated A. H. 1076 (A. D. 1665/66), than from the assertion in the *Gazetteer*, which may refer mainly to Aurangzeb's intolerance which must have extended over a period and culminated in the destruction of certain important Hindu temple in the town in the year A. D. 1682.

C. H. BIDDULPH.

9

MUGHAL RUPEES COUNTERMARKED BY THE DUTCH FOR USE IN THE DUTCH INDIES

[Plate III]

C. Scholten in *The Coins of the Dutch Overseas Territories, 1601-1948*, refers, on page 36, to the use of Mughal rupees after countermarking, in an emergency in Batavia in the seventeenth century.

Particulars of the coins are reproduced for reference :

> "By Advertisement of July 17th 1693 and Notification of Aug. 17th 1693 the Surat Rupees were countermarked with a "Rider". These coins, introduced by

the Company from Southern India, had a weight of 11.444 grams and contained 984 thousandths of pure silver. As may be seen from the dates on them they were all freshly imported coins and it was the intention of the Company to try and keep them in circulation. Some of the countermarks are shaped like a shield, others are square."

Scholten catalogues coins which were known to him.

"Surat Rupees of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir (A. D. 1658-1770) counterstamped with a rider."

(a) Dated A.H. 1102 = A.D. 1690/91. 34th regnal year.

(b) „ 1104 = 1692/93. 36th „ „

(c) „ 1104. Regnal year 37, overstruck in addition, about 1755, with the word جاو (Java).

(d) „ 1105 = 1693/94.

Dr. P. L. Gupta, of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, while engaged in cataloguing the coins of the Mughals in the British Museum collection, in the year 1962, found three of these rupees in a cabinet containing the normal issues of Aurangzeb Alamgir. Since his return to India he has requested me to write a short note on them and illustrate a couple of the coins for the benefit of our members who may not be aware of their existence.

The particulars of the coins are as under :

(a) Rupee. A. H. 1103. R. Y. 35. Weight 177.7 grains. Within a square, incuse, horseman to left on the reverse of the coin.

(b) Rupee. A. H. 1105. R. Y. 37. Weight 177.4 grains. Within a square, incuse, horseman to left on the obverse of the coin. **(Pl. III. 8)**

(c) Rupee. A. H. 1105. R. Y. 37. Weight 177.3 grains. Within a square, incuse, horseman to left on the reverse of the coin. **(Pl. III. 9)**

The Museum does not possess coins with the horseman within an incuse shield, or with the countermark 'Java'.

The rupees of the Mughal Aurangzeb Alamgir of the years A.H. 1103 to 1105 are the only ones known to have been used, after countermarking, by the Dutch. The rupee of the year A. H. 1104, R. Y. 37, with the additional overstrike 'Java' catalogued by Scholten, must be very rare.

Some idea of the rarity of these coins may gained from particulars furnished in a catalogue of an auction sale held in Amsterdam in November 1960. A rupee of Aurangzeb Alamgir of A.H. 1104, R. Y. 36, was provisionally valued at 750 florins in the catalogue. It probably realised a figure in excess of the value indicated, when it was auctioned, as figures quoted in sale catalogues are usually based on prices realised for similar coins in recent sales and do not represent the actual value.

Mention must also be made to the extended use, by the Dutch, of countermarked coins of certain other countries. Most of these coins circulated in Ceylon and a few in India after being countermarked. It is not proposed to furnish particulars of these coins as details are available in Scholten's *Coins of the Dutch Overseas Territories, 1601-1948*, pages 149 to 151.

Reference is invited to an article by Dr. P. M. Joshi—"Coins Current in the Kingdom of Golconda", pages 85 to 95 and Plate VI (II), Nos. 5 and 6, of the *JNSI*, Vol. V, Pt. I, June 1943. The coin is referred to as a Dutch rupee of Pulicat. Dr. Joshi would seem to suggest, in para 3 on page 86, that the coin illustrated by him may probably have been Mughal in origin, or issued under their instructions by the Golconda rulers.

A glance at the illustration on plate VI confirms it is not intended to represent a Mughal coin as it is in fact a Persian Abbasi, or Mahmudi. Dr. Joshi, on page 92 of his paper, mentions Persian Abbasis and Mahmudis were among the silver coins brought to Golconda and used as currency on the coast. Coins which the Dutch imported were countermarked with the 'bale-mark' of the Dutch East India Company and were the only coins they would accept in their trade on the coasts of India.

I have to thank Dr. John Walker, C. B. E., Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, for permission to publish and illustrate these coins.

C. H. BIDDULPH

10

WHEN WERE THE SCALES LOST ?

This refers to the query of Sri S. S. Dave in the *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, page 197. I desire to throw some light on the subject.

The oldest coin with scale in my collection dates 1794. On the obverse, there is the symbol generally known as 'bale

mark' embodying the initials 'V.E.I.C.' and date. On the reverse is a scale with the legend 'عدل' (*Adel* = Justice). The obverse and reverse dies are placed opposite ways, i.e. like ↑ ↓.

Smaller coins of the same type bear the date 1795, with the obverse and reverse dies placed half ways, i.e. like ↑ ←.

There is no mention of the value on these coins.

Other coins bear the date 1804 with Coat of Arms (two lions holding a shield) on the obverse and scale with the legend عدل (*Adel*) and Hejira year in Persian characters on the reverse. Value is not mentioned on these coins as well.

Next coins bear the date 1821 with date and 'bale mark' on the obverse, and scale with *Samvat* year and value in Hindi on the reverse.

The last ones are dated 1830, 1832 and 1833, bearing on the obverse the Coat of Arms with date. The legend 'East India Company' appears on the coins of 1930 and 1932 only. On the reverse, there is scale with value in terms of fraction of an anna in English and the legend عدل (*Adel*) and Hejira year in Persian characters.

A reference to Mr. L. V. W. Wright's *Colonial and Commonwealth Coins* reveals that the earliest coins with scale were dated 1791 and the latest ones 1834.

It is interesting to note that Company had been using both the names 'East India Company' as well as 'United East India Company' from time to time. The 1794 and 1821 coins bear the initials 'V.E.I.C.' while others (1804 and 1930 to 1933) bear the name 'East India Company'. What was the reason behind it is only a matter of surmises now.

From 1835 onwards, both the 'bale mark' on obverse and scales on the reverse were totally discontinued, and instead, the the Coat of Arms showing two lions holding a shield was retained on the obverse and creeper motif with the value in terms of fraction of an anna in English and the word پائی (*Pie*) in Persian between the ends of the creeper on the reverse was introduced.

The coins of 1835 have the obverse and reverse dies placed same way as well as opposite ways. The 1858 coins have obverse and reverse dies placed opposite ways.

The 1858 coins mentioned by Sri Dave are not false ones. There are also ½ As. dated 1845, Pice dated 1853 and ½ Pice dated 1857, of this type.

From the analysis of the above facts, Mr. Dave's surmise that scales on East India Company coins started from 1833, and continued upto 1858 may be safely modified to the effect that scales on coins started from 1791, and continued till 1834. The Creeper Motif type coins were introduced in 1835, twenty-three years before the dissolution of the East India Company in 1858.

S. M. GATTANI

11

COUNTERMARKED COIN OF THE IMAM OF MUSCAT AND OMAN

(*JNSI*, Vol. XXV, Pt. I, 1963, page 118, Pl. III. 9 & 10)

After submitting the note information which would seem to explain the necessity for the countermark has been found. Short extracts from the text will be quoted as they are interesting.

The publication is *Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of Iran (1500-1941 A. D.)* by H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, 1945.

"Foreign Copper Coins put into Circulation"

"Under Fath Ali Shah the Iranians, when short of copper, utilized Russian two copeck pieces. We have thus a two copeck piece of 1830 with the countermak کاشان ۱۲٦۷ and a two copeck piece of 1816 which has simply been restruck at Isfahan, the obverse bearing a Lion and sun, left, and the reverse the words :— ضرب‌دارالسلطنت اصفهان ۱۲۴۱

"Copper coins of the East India Company were also used for this purpose. Thus a Bombay coin of George II was restruck with the lion and sun, on the obverse and فلوس ضرب مازندران on the revese."

"All contemporary writers speak of the great dearth of gold in Iran during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the currency being principally copper[1] (even copper coins were scarce at times). Yet but few copper coins reached us and these are usually defaced and their dates obliterated. This is explained by the practice of reminting every year the copper coinage at a reduction in weight and forcibly buying up at par the old coins with the new ones of less weight, or of countermarking the coins already in circulation." (N.B.—presumably by increasing their value.

"Confused State of the Copper Currency under Nasiru'd-Din. Law of 1857."

"The copper currency was in a great state of confusion in the time of Nasiru'd-Din, the 'qiran' being exchanged in various provinces for 70,50,30 or 20 'shahis'. The law of 1857 had fixed the standard for the copper currency, but as the old currency was not redeemed, the new issue tended to increase instead of decreasing the prevailing confusion."

"Reform of the Copper Currency in 1857."

"In 1857, Herr Pechan was entrusted with the reform of the currency, but he no sooner began his work than he was ordered to coin large quantities of copper, and to leave silver minting for a future occasion. Finally the copper currency had to be redeemed in the reign of Muzaffaru'd-Din at anything up to 80 copper 'shahis' a 'qiran' instead of 20, and in 1901 it was replaced by nickel."

"Standardization of Copper Currency-Nickel."

"As recently as 1856, the governor of Rasht made a great deal of money by arbitrarily changing the value of the old copper money of the town almost every month. Shortly afterwards the copper currency of Iran was standardized. Nickel was introduced as a currency in 1901."

From the foregoing it is apparent that about the year A. D. 1897/98 the necessity to countermark foreign copper coins of low denomination recurred, at Resht, to supply a temporary shortage in the North-Western region of Persia.

Before writing this further note, I have considered a suggestion made to me by Dr. John Walker, Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, that the countermark is in fact an alteration in the denominational value and is in Hindustani and reeds سات (sat), or seven.

It is unlikely a Muscat and Oman quarter anna coin, valued three pies, should have been countermarked to increase its value to seven pies; an odd denomination it would seem in a currency comprising rupees of sixteen annas, with twelve pies to the anna.

If, in fact, the surcharge was connected with any increase in the value of the coin it should normally have been six pies, or some multiple of three or six if intended for use in Muscat and Oman.

It is admitted that while the letters 'ت' and 'س' are clear the letter 'ز' is not clear although there are indications that it may have existed between the 'ت' and 'س' on the die. It is not easy to explain the omission of the linking of letters, other than by a suggestion made to me by Dr. P. L. Gupta, that by doing so the oval incuse in which the countermark is contained may have almost obliterated the inscription on the obverse of the coin. If the surcharge is denominational it would still appear to have been affixed in Persia as in the paragraph, "Confused State of the Currency under Nasiru'd-Din," the exchange rate of the 'qiran' varied from 20 to 70 'shahis'. The coin under reference would then possibly be valued seven 'shahis' or one tenth of a 'Qiran'. A further possibility is that this countermark could have been the work of the governor of Resht, vide the paragraph "Standardization of Copper Currency–Nickel", which has been quoted earlier.

C. H. BIDDULPH

12

INDORE-SHIVAJI RAO. A.D. 1886-1903. AN UNUSUAL HALF ANNA COIN

I read with much interest Mr. C. H. Biddulph's notes on the above coin on page 119 (Miscellanea) of the *JNSI*, Vol. XXV, (1963), Pt. I. While going through my collection of coins of Indore State, I spoted a half Anna coin which I think is of unusual pattern. The weight is 193 grains. On obverse the legend reads :

"SHRIMANT MAHARAJA HOLKAR SARCAR—1943"

The date is shown under the seated bull.

The reverse of the coin has the following legend encircled by dots :

"EK ADHA ANNA, INDORE"

It will be noted that the date which is normally shown on the reverse of a coin is shown here on obverse, and the word "EK" is in my opinion, superfluous. I do not know whether such a coin has been catalogued previously. If it has not been done so, perhaps this note will be of interest to the readers of the *Journal*.

D. M. PHATAK

NOTES & NEWS

1

Communications

I

7th June 1963

Dear Sir,

....

As a Briton who has lived here in South Africa these past three years, I have become very interested in the commonwealth coinage especially the crowns-sized coins. In the course of collecting commonwealth coins I have come accross many rupees of India, Mombasa, Mauritius, Seychelles etc., which aroused my interest and I now have a section which I call rupees of the world. Since I feel that India is the true home of the rupees, I would like my collection to contain as many of the Indian rupees as possible and it is in connection with this that I appeal to you for help and advice.

I am a member of the South African Numismatic Society and we are shortly to hold a convention ; for my part, I would very much like to exhibit my rupee collection but it has a few gaps and these I would like to fill with your kind help or the help of any of your members. In return I would like to suggest that should you wish I would be most willing to exchange for any of the rupees sent me—the coinage of South Africa i.e. any of the crowns, ½ crowns or proof short sets or for that matter uncirculated short sets. (All the coins I offer will be EF + to uncl. and I would appreciate all rupees to be likewise, or if you wish to sell them the appropriate money will be sent.)

The following are my requirements :

Regal head coinage.

Victoria	1 Rupee of 1840. Both types please.
George VI	1 Rupee 1947 only.
India Republic	Any date from 1950
Bahawalpur	1 Rupee of 1343 A.H. (1925).
Bikanir	1 Rupee any date 1892-1897 and 1 Rupee commemorating 50th year of Reign of Sri Ganga Singh 1937.

Bundi	1 Rupee 1901 Raghubir Singh.
Hyderabad	1 Rupee of 1893 to 1899 any date.
Jaipur	1 Rupee of 1913 (Shivaji Rao). 1 Rupee of 1949 (Man Singh II).
Kutch	5 Kori 1936. This I believe to be the equivalent of 1 Rupee.
Mewar Udaipur	1 Rupee with hills on obverse. 1 Rupee without hills on obverse.

Yours most sincerely,

R. C. DE MENEAUD,
Department of Electromyography,
Princess Alice Hospital,
Retreat
Cape Town, South Africa.

II

28th June 1963

Dear Sir,

I would appreciate it very much if you would kindly pass on my name to any members of your Society who collect war medals and decorations and who would care to exchange with me.

Many thanks.

Yours truly

JIMMIE WHITE
P. O. Box 249
Qualicum Beach, B. C.
Canada
War Medals & Decorations

III

1st Nov. 1963

Dear Sirs,

My hobby is to collect coins and especially sets of the coins in circulation of every country.

A set means, a *single* coin from every value, from the lowest value up to the highest value (except gold) including all the different coins of the same value (I don't mind the year).

As I have not yet sets from India and the Far East, I was suggested to appeal to your Society and get your assistance to enrich my collection.

My request from you, a great request, is to help me get the sets in circulation from India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Afghanistan,

and other neighbours of your country. And I of course shall pay the full value of it including all the expenses in currency you suggest.

I hope you will not postpone my request, and I shall soon get your answer.

Yours, with respects and thanks,

SHLOMO NADIV
Pika St. 5
Petah Tiqva
Israel.

[*Note—To enable us to attend to enquiries such as those printed above and direct them promptly to appropriate persons, Members of the Society are requested to let us have at a very early date their special interest in numismatics—their field of specialization, the range of coin series in which they are interested for study and collection, whether they are interested in exchange of coins, etc. This material will also be utilized in our comprehensive and up-to-date list of members that we propose bring out soon.* —*Editor*]

2

Addenda & Corrigenda

(JNSI, Vol. XXV, Pt. I)

1. Pages 120-21, Communications :

   Please note the address of Mr. A. Harlech Jones :

   3 Thekla Circle,
   Port Elizabeth,
   South Africa.

2. Page 41, line 27 :

   Read 'Badekshan' for 'Badekhan'.

3

Review

Studies in Indology, by Mm. Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Vol. III, pp. XVI + 167, Pls. I-VIII. Nagpur University Series No. 1; Published by the Registrar, Nagpur University; 1962; Price Rs. 12, Library Edition Rs. 15.

Mm. Dr. V. V. Mirashi and the authorities of the Nagpur University should be congratulated for bringing out the present volume of *Studies in Indology* (Vol. III). Dr. Mirashi's is a name in the field of Indological studies and his contributions

stand by themselves for their depth and clarity. The present volume of Dr. Mirashi's *Studies* contains his research articles on Indian coins and connected problems. Most of these papers have already appeared in the earlier issues of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.* The volume under review contains in all thirty-two papers, including one Presidential address at the annual session of the Numismatic Society of India, 1951. The articles mostly deal with coins discovered in the States of Andhra, Maharasthra, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh during the last thirty years. Articles 1-9 deal with the coins of the Sātavāhanas. The last of these deals with the Sātavāhana coins of the Tarhala hoard which brought to our notice two new kings Kumbha and Karṇa Sātakarṇi. Articles 10-11 deal with the coins of the newly known Sebaka dynasty. Some other articles (Nos. 12-16) also deal with the newly known Mahishas. In the 18th, Dr. Mirashi has answered some of the objections raised against his view. No. 19 discusses some seal-stamps discovered from Vidarbha. In No. 20 he has discussed some Kshatrapa coins of Rudrasena II, also from Vidarbha. The next deals with the coins of Three kings of the Nala dynasty. Nos. 22-23 are devoted to the gold coinage of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya. No. 24 is an attempt to correct the decipherment of certain Valabhī coins. No. 25 deals with a copper coin bearing *Jayāśraya* which according to the author is an issue of the Chālukya Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, the grandson of Pulakeśin II. In article 26, the author has discussed again some old coins of Vīrasiṁha and Vatsadāman. No. 27 deals with a gold issue of the Chandella king Vīravarman. No. 28 is devoted to a discussion of the coins of the Kalachuris of South Kośala. No. 29 discusses a copper piece of Kṛishṇarāya (c.1509-1530 A. D.) of the second Vijayanagar dynasty. No. 30 is about a gold coin of king Prāṇadārāyaṇa (1666 A.D.) a Koch king of Kuch Bihar. No. 31 gives an explanation of the term *Kumāragadyāṇaka*, and the last, No. 32, is the Presidential address, referred above.

Illustrations of coins, wherever necessary, are given by the learned author, in eight plates. At the end is also given an index of important words and names which further increases the value of the work.

Dr. Mirashi's method of treatment of his subject and the way he marshalls his arguments are very effective and whether one agrees with him or not, one is sure to recognise the weight of the author's observations and arguments. The articles collected in this *volume* have been published in their original form in which they appeared. Many of them, in fact, inspired

and were followed by long and short discussions, all of which appeared in the pages of this *Journal*. For instance, there was a lively discussion between the author and Dr. D. C. Sircar regarding Berar, the supposed original home of the Sātavāhanas, and regarding the Mahishas and their territory. The same is true regarding the author's note on *Apratigha* coins of Kumāragupta. Much has been written on it since it was first published in *JNSI*; and an attempt has been recently made to decipher its full legend. The attribution of *Mahendrāditya* bearing gold coins to Kumāragupta I (though earlier doubted, *JNSI*, XVI, II) receives further corroboration after the discovery of repousse gold coins from Pitaibānd in the Raipur District, bearing *Śrī Mahendrāditya* and *Śrī Kramāditya*. The coins of Kramāditya (Skandagupta) of this type were not known earlier. Besides, Dr. Altekar, who remained the Chief Editor of the *Journal* for a considerable time, sometimes appended valuable editorial notes to the articles contributed in the *Journal*. Any person who is interested in the study of the articles of Dr. Mirashi in this book will do well to look into the volumes of the *Journal* to acquaint himself with the other views. The reviewer feels that Dr. Mirashi, even if in disagreement with the opposite views, could have at least referred to them either in the foot notes at the appropriate places or in the end of the main part of the book. Such references would have brought the work up-to-date and further enhanced its value,

However, Dr. Mirashi has to be thanked for having collected and published his articles in a book form. They are now easily available, since many of the volumes of the *Journal* are now out of print. The articles of Dr. Mirashi show his sound scholarship, archæological understanding and critical discernment so essential for numismatic studies. We can say that Dr. Mirashi has served and furthered the study of Indian numismatics full well.

A. K. NARAIN

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 52nd ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA HELD AT POONA ON THE 28th DECEMBER, 1963.

The 52nd Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India was held this year at Poona on the 28th December, 1963 on the joint invitation of the University of Poona and the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇdala. The Conference was inaugurated by Shri N. V. Gadgil, ex-Governor of Punjab, in the Lady Ramabai Hall of Sir Parasuram Bhau College, Poona, on the 28th December, 1963, in the forenoon. The inauguration was largely attended by the members of the Society as well as the delegates to the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian History Congress.

Mm. D. V. Potdar, Vice-Chancellor, University of Poona, while welcoming the Chief Guest, expressed great satisfaction at the useful activities being carried on by the Society and growing interest in numismatics as a result of it, which, he noted, was also evident from the larger gathering of scholars at the inauguration than he remembered about the previous occasions.

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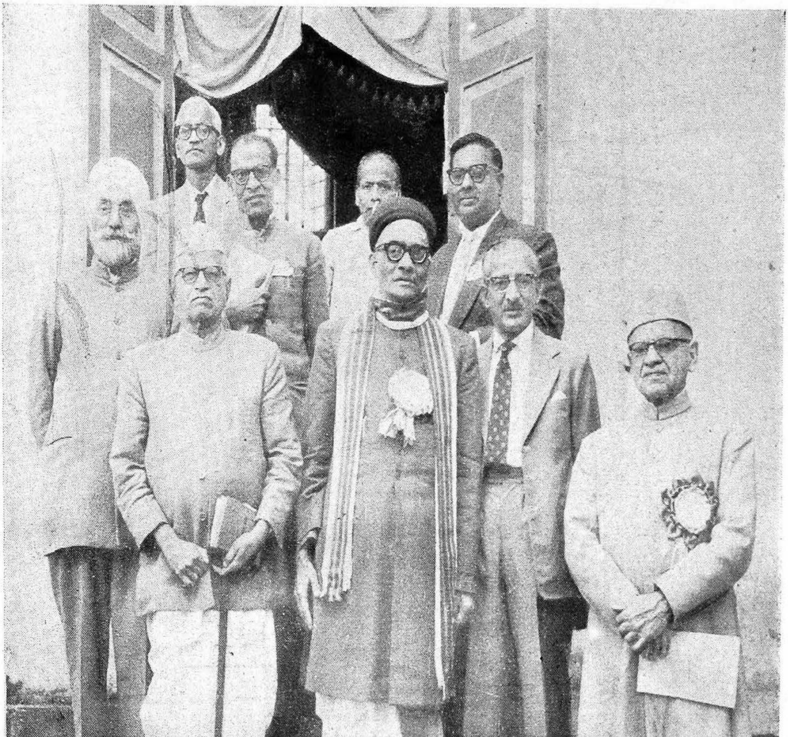
Inaugural Address

Shri N. V. Gadgil in his inaugural address greatly praised the useful work that the Society has done in the field of numismatic studies and research during its long history of more than five decades and the very valuable publications that it has brought out for the benefit of the numismatic world. He gave a brief history of the steady growth of the Society since its inception in 1910 and mentioned several notable scholars—from academic world as well as civilians, from India as well as outside—whom it was able to attract within its fold. Shri Gadgil appreciated the great value of the study of ancient coins. In his opinion, the coins not only enlighten us about the political history of a people but also provide us with valuable information about their language and script, and their social and economic condition. Shri Gadgil further remarked that when he was invited by the Numismatic Society of India to inaugurate its conference, he became curious to know whether there was any book on ancient Indian coins in Marathi and to his surprise found there was none. He therefore made a suggestion that while the Society should not neglect its primary function of promoting research in numismatics, it should

On the occasion of the
52nd Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India.



Front row : Shri N V. Gadgil (Chief Guest), Mm. D.V. Potdar, Shri P.J. Chinmulgund (President), Prof. H.K. Sherwani.

Behind : Sardar Ganda Singh, Dr. A.D. Pusalkar, Dr. P.L. Gupta, Shri G.H. Khare, Dr. A.K. Narain (General Secretary).

also take steps to produce simple, easy-to-understand and modestly-priced books on numismatics in English, Hindi or any other vernacular of India for the benefit of the people in general. He expressed his opinion that we were living in the modern age of democracy and democratisation of knowledge also was essential. It was not enough, he said, to accumulate knowledge, but also to ensure that it reaches the people.

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Presidential Address

Shri P. J. Chinmulgund, I. C. S., Commissioner, Poona Division, Poona, who was the President-elect for the year, then delivered his Presidential Address as follows:

"Mr. Kaka Saheb Gadgil, Mm. Potdar, Prof. Sherwani, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank the Numismatic Society of India for having elected me as its President.

As you all know, we could not hold our Annual Conference last year in view of the national emergency. This year we are meeting in Poona and I believe it is the first time that we are meeting in this city which is well-known for its educational and cultural work and academic traditions.

Members must have observed that our Society has been continuing to do, as in the past, excellent work in the field of of numismatics. The regular publication of the *Journal* and the following up of the programme of our special monographs which have been found most useful by scholars everywhere, are matters of which we may be justifiably proud. There is one suggestion however which was made by Dr. V. S. Agrawala in his presidential address in 1950 which still has not been followed up. He had then suggested that the various museums and State Governments should be requested to communicate to the Society, every year, the treasure trove finds of coins that have been discovered or come in their possession. This is a very important matter and I would request our Secretary to take up the matter with the various State Governments and museums so that a notice of all such treasure trove finds is invariably published in the Society's *Journal* along with a rough indication of the contents of the hoards. This will enable scholars to follow up their studies in the particular fields of their interest. It would also enable the Society to approach the various State Governments and museums with a request to publish detailed papers on these hoards; and also to offer its services for such publication if the State Governments and

the museums are not in a position to do so without undue loss of time. I believe our Society has already got a list of scholars and the special fields of numismatics in which they are interested. Where a State Government or a museum finds it difficult to publish detailed papers on the hoards found during the year, the Society could, with the concurrence of the authorities concerned, entrust this work to an appropriate scholar or scholars on its list.

The most important event of the year as far as we are concerned was the promulgation of the Gold Control Order by the Government of India towards the end of 1962. As the Society rightly felt that this order was likely to cause difficulties in the way of acquisition and disposal of gold coins by numismatists and coin-collectors, it took up the matter with the Ministry of Finance. The full correspondence on this subject has already been published in the last issue of our *Journal.* I am sure members would be glad to observe that as a result of our efforts a satisfactory arrangement has been arrived at under which the Gold Control Board (this has now been substituted by a Special Officer) would permit individual scholars and collectors to acquire and dispose of gold coins subject to certain reasonable restrictions. I hope our members will take advantage of these concessions and I am sure the Society will be ever willing to offer its services and good offices in this matter whenever and wherever necessary.

One of the most difficult problems of Indian numismatics is the metrology and metal content of ancient and mediaeval Indian coins. During recent years, a good deal of attention has been devoted to this subject. But inspite of this we have hardly touched the fringe of the problem and we are far from having even a very rough and a very approximate hypothesis which would give a reasonable account of the weight standards and metal content of the different series of ancient and mediaeval coins. Moreover, recent discoveries of coins of varying weights and purity have further complicated the problem.

As far as the ancient period is concerned, Dr. V. S. Agrawala has given fairly detailed tables of the weight standards of silver and copper coins both in his presidetial address in 1950 and in his subsequent papers on the subject. For silver currency he has given a table of 15 weight standards varying from 1/4th of a rattī to 100 rattīs. Of this series, the *Ardha Raupya Māsha*, *Raupya Māsha*, *Ashṭabhāga*, *Kārshāpaṇa*, *Pādakārshāpaṇa*, *Ardha Kārshāpaṇa* and *Kārṣhāpaṇa*, have increasing weights in geometric progression with the multiplicating factor of two. The other coins of the series namely *Pañchamāshaka*, *Viṃśatika*, *Triṃśatika*, *Ardhaśatamāna* and

Śatamāna form a series consisting of multiples of 10 rattīs. It has also been shown by him that in the time of Pāṇini two weight standards were concurrently in use namely the *Śatamāna* standard with its fraction and the *Karsha* of 80 rattīs with its fraction. From the time of the Maurya dynasty the *Karsha* of 80 rattīs and the silver *Kārshāpaṇa* of 32 rattīs became the accepted standard. Similarly he has shown that the series of copper coins started from *Ardhakākiṇī* of 1/4 rattī and went up to 100, 150, and 225 rattīs. Though actual coins corresponding to many of these weight standards have been found, there are still many coins which cannot be conveniently fitted in in these series and it is difficult to decide whether they conform to some other weight standards or are meant to fall within the recognised series, the variation in weight being a factor attributable to carelessness on the part of the mint master.

When we come to later times, particularly to the Gupta and later eras we find that the metrology of the coins is also full of puzzling factors which have not so far been satisfactorily explained. I shall discuss Gupta gold coins as an example of this as they are the most important series of gold coins of ancient India. We know that, in a general way, the coins of Chandragupta I appear to conform to a standard of 121 grains, Samudragupta appears to have a standard of 121 grains though the Aśvamedha type of coins shows a variation in weight from 112 to 121 grains. Kācha seems to have adopted two standards, one of 115 and the other of 118 grains. Chandragupta II again had standard of 121, 124 and also of 127 grains. Kumāragupta I adopted 124, 127 and sometimes 121 grains as the standard. I need not give more details here, but this appears to be the general conclusion arrived at by Dr. Altekar after his examination of the coins of the Bayana hoard. It has been found that even when we take these standards as approximate standards, individual coins of the same type of the same king show extremely large variations which are hard to explain. Dr. Altekar has advanced the hypothesis of "Remainder pieces" to explain these. He suggested that a certain specified amount of gold was issued for the preparation of a specified number of coins but as the weight of each individual coin was not very accurately determined, the last coin in a particular series of minting operation would show a large excess or deficit in weights according to the inaccuracies in the weights of the coins issued earlier in the same operation. This hypothesis may be accepted as a working basis until further investigations into this problem are made. We do not know the exact method of minting coins in ancient India. We however know that in the late 18th century and early 19th century the following method was followed. Bars of gold or silver

about the thickness of a finger and 8″ to 10″ in length were first prepared. From these, pieces were cut out of a weight which approximated to the weight of the standard coin. These pieces were then hammered into flat circular pieces and constituted the coin blanks. The blanks were than weighed and if there was an excess of weight minute pieces were cut off from their edge, or if the weight was a little less a small piece of metal of the required weight was hammered into the blank, so that the blank eventually showed the required standard weight. Dr. Altekar's hypothesis requires that a similar method must have been followed by the Gupta Mint authorities since any other method e.g. cutting of circular blanks from a metal plate, would not fit in with this hypothesis.

Thus we find that the weights of coins themselves are highly confusing but the matter is made much more complicated and difficult when we consider the purity of metal in individual coins. Thus we find that the content of pure gold in the coins of Chandragupta I varies from 84% to 96%, in those of Samudragupta it varies from 74 to 94%, in those of Chandragupta II from 73 to 91% and in those of Kumāragupta from 65% to 92%. This variation is often found in many coins of the same type of a particular king.

When we thus consider both the variation in weight and the variation in purity, the problem of arriving at any even approximately satisfactory hypothesis regarding the metrology and metal content of Gupta coins seems to be an extremely difficult one. Having studied this problem for some time, I would offer some suggestions which might help to throw some light on this complicated question.

First, as regards weight, though according to established practice we weigh a coin in grains, we must remember that the lowest unit of weight in ancient India in the north and central areas was always the rattī the average weight of which is taken to be 1.81 grains. The weights of any commodity in any country are necessarily calculated in multiples of the lowest standard unit adopted in that country. We must, therefore, in considering this problem, take the weights of Indian coins in rattīs only and not in grains. If we prefer to have them in grains for convenience, then, at all events in trying to arrive at any hypothesis regarding metrology, we must convert them into rattīs and then examine the results. Another factor which we should remember in this connection is what is called "the least count" of the weighing apparatus which was used in ancient times. The least count is the lowest weight that a weighing apparatus can weigh with accuracy. Now, in ancient India, as well as mediaeval India,

the accepted weighing apparatus for precious metals was the jeweller's balance. The very fact that the rattī was taken as the unit of weight indicated that the most delicate balance of those times was not capable of giving accurate reading when weighing a mass of metal which was less than one rattī in weight. The mention of *yava* as being equal to 1/2 rattī comes much later in the history of Indian weights and measures. From this it will be very clear that giving the weight of coins in grains introduces a refinement in the weight of the coin which is entirely unnecessary and serves no practical purpose in dealing with the weights of ancient coins since one grain is equal $\frac{1}{1.8}$ or 0.55 rattī. It is, therefore, entirely futile to give the weights of coins in full grains and decimals of grains as is being done by some scholars. We are committing the mistake of weighing ancient coins by a weight standard and on an apparatus both of which are far too delicate and refined. As indicated above, therefore, the weights must be in rattīs and not even in fractions of rattīs. If weights have to be given in grains, they must be rounded off to the nearest multiple of a rattī. From this discussion it will be clear that as the jeweller's balance had the least count of 1 rattī, it could not be relied upon to give accurate weights in fractions of rattīs. Therefore, any variation in the weight of a coin of the order of plus or minus one rattī must be disregarded. In other words, if the standard weight of a particular coin was, say 10 rattīs, then the coin that passed muster and was accepted by the mint masters of ancient times may necessarily show a variation in weight ranging from 9 to 11 rattīs and a coin weighing between these to limits was accepted as standard coin. I am still working on this problem and have begun to feel that the re-arrangement of weights of Gupta gold coins on this basis may give a reasonable explanation of their metrology. I hope to publish detailed results on my investigations in due course.

There is another aspect of this question which is very important but which I have not been able to follow up owing to want of time. I hope some of you might be able to take it up. It is the problem of the standard average weight of the rattī seed. The present standard weight accepted is the one that was arrived at by Maskeylene in the last century and is 1.81 grains. Actually the weight is given to the fourth place of decimal and there are two integers after 1.81. On the other hand Elliot has stated that 1.8 grains is the maximum weight of a rattī and the average weight is 1.7 grains. Cunningham also states that 1.8 grains is the best weight of a rattī. A re-assessment of the standard weight would, according to me, be highly desirable. It will also be desirable to find out whether

the standard weight of the rattī seed is the same for all parts of India or whether there are regional variations in weight of the seed in different parts of India. This point is important because as I have observed above, the entire weight system of ancient times, particularly in the northern and central India, was based on the weight of the rattī seed. If as a result of investigation, Maskeylene's figure needs revision the hypothesis of Indian metrology will again have to be reviewed. At the moment, however, I am following my investigations on the basis of the standard weights of both 1.8 and 1.7 grains.

I may mention here that I have found that the adoption of 1.7 grains as the weight of the rattī along with discarding the excess or deficit of upto one rattī as explained above, gives a satisfactory explanation of the weight standard of Gupta gold coins. Thus, the weight of 115 grains corresponds to 68 rattīs. The weights of 118, 120 and 121 grains correspond to 70 rattīs. The weight of 124 grains corresponds to 73 rattīs, the weight of 127 grains corresponds to 75 rattīs and the weight of 129 to 132 grains corresponds to 76 to 78 rattīs. The heavy weight standard of Skandagupta of 144 grains corresponds to 85 rattīs. Thus on this basis we get a series of weight standards of Gupta gold coins namely 68, 70, 73, 75, 76, 78 and 85 rattīs. Thus this series gives a regular increase in weight in full integers of 2 and 3 rattīs.

The other complicating factor which I have mentioned earlier is also of vital importance namely the purity of metal. I have already indicated the large variations in the purity of Gupta coins of the same type of one and the same king. Even if the weight standards of the coins are satisfactorily established, the question still remains as to the value of two coins of the same type of the same king having identical weight but different gold content. Here again, I might make a few suggestions. The most accurate method of arriving at the metal content of a coin is the one of chemical analysis. This cannot be adopted in the majority of cases because it involves cutting off a piece of the coin for analysis and thus damaging coin. The method therefore generally followed is that known as the specific gravity method. Mr. S. K. Maity has done good work in weighing different series of gold coins and arriving at the gold content thereof in recent years. Now, the specific gravity method is capable of high accuracy but suffers from one disadvantage. The method is highly accurate if the coin consists of an alloy of only two metals and we know beforehand which these metals are. For instance, if we know that a particular Gupta coin consists only of an alloy of gold and silver and nothing else, then this method will give a highly accurate result. But if the

coin consists of an alloy of 3 or more metals in varying proportions, then the method is only approximately reliable. As a matter of fact Gupta gold coins in many cases do consist of an alloy of gold, silver and copper. The natural result therefore is that the figures of gold content of Gupta coins arrived at by the specific gravity method are only approximate. I have myself seen a number of Gupta gold coins, particularly those of Kumāragupta I, which contain a high proportion of gold namely 80% but the remaining 20% of which consists of silver and copper. This became apparent to me when I examined these coins under a microscope.

It would therefore be very helpful if when using the specific gravity method we can at least guess what the alloying metals were in a particular specimen. Fortunately it is possible to make a rough guess. It has been found that the colour of an article of mixed gold gives a fair indication of its content. If pure gold is alloyed only with pure silver, then the resulting alloy exhibits a slightly greenish tinge. If the gold is alloyed with copper alone, the resulting colour has a reddish tinge and finally if both copper and silver are used as alloys then the resulting colour has a whitish appearance. On this basis it is possible roughly to know that the alloying metal or metals are in a particular specimen and on this basis certain corrections can be applied to the figures arrived at by the specific gravity method. I would, therefore, suggest that in determining the gold content of ancient coins by the specific gravity method, this point should be given due attention.

After the weights and metal content of the Gupta gold coins are studied and analysed according to the suggestions I have made, it might be possible to say whether the large variations in excess or deficit of 3 to 4 grains bear any relation to the content of pure gold in a given specimen i.e. whether the weight of a coin of a particular type was adjusted taking into consideration the pure gold content thereof.

It is well known that in ancient India gold was obtained from different sources and different places. Dr. V. S. Agrawala has already suggested that the words for gold like *Jāmbūnada*, *Satakumbha*, *Hataka* and so on may refer to the particular locality from which gold was obtained or to a particular process of refining gold. It is possible that when such gold was received at the mint, no further purification was undertaken and it was straightaway used in the minting of coins. As the purity of gold obtained from various places and by the various processes was not uniform the fact of the variation of the pure gold content of coins of the same type of the same king could be explained. Though Kauṭilya and other authors do refer

to the purification of metal, it does not seem that such purification, with a view to getting a standard purity of gold, was undertaken at the various mints. Until therefore the problem has been fully investigated it may be possible to hold that in actual commercial transactions the coins might have been weighed again and tested for purity before the transaction was finally concluded.

Another aspect of Indian numismatics which I would recommend to the attention of scholars is that of the palæography of coin legends. As we all know, the palæography of inscriptions has been studied with great attention for over a hundred years but the same attention has not been paid to the inscriptions on coins. Dr. Mirashi has shown in some of his papers how the form of a particular letter on a coin differs from that in an inscription. Various causes contribute to this result such as the small size of the coin flan which necessitates the alteration of the forms of certain letters, the fact that persons who inscribed the letters on a stone inscription were different from those whose who inscribed letters on coin dies and so on. A careful study therefore of this problem is highly desirable; because such a study would enable us to fix the approximate dates of coins of kings and tribes hitherto unknown, by a study of the palæography of the legends of these coins. I earnestly hope that this subject will receive due attention and in time a standard work on this subject will be brought out by our Society.

As regards the affairs of the Society, I have already observed that the Society has been going from strength to strength. I however feel that though the subject of numismatics may not have a very wide attraction, we do need to have a larger membership than we now have. I therefore earnestly request our General Secretary to launch in the ensuing year a drive for increasing the membership. The younger generation of scholars, especially, should be induced to join the Society in large numbers so that the continuity of the work that we are doing is assured. I have no doubt that with some effort this can be achieved. I would also request all members to help in this matter. I shall now close my address with a prayer for the continued prosperity of our Society."

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Dr. M. Rama Rao then thanked the Chief Guest for having accepted the invitation of the Society to inaugurate the Conference, for his words of encouragement to the members of the Society and for his very valuable suggestions. He also thanked Mm. Potdar and Shri G. H. Khare for inviting the Society

to hold its Conference at Poona and to the audience for having made the inauguration very successful by their presence.

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GENERAL BUSINESS MEETING

The same day, in the afternoon, the General Business Meeting of the Society was held in the Lady Ramabai Hall. As the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman, both, had expressed their inability to be present at the time of the Conference, the Meeting was presided over by Shri P. J. Chinmulgund. The following members were present at the meeting:

(1) Shri P. J. Chinmulgund
(2) Dr. A. K. Narain
(3) Sardar A. A. Chalukye Patil
(4) Shri Bhasker A. Gupte
(5) Dr. (Miss) Manorama Verma
(6) (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale
(7) Dr. P. L. Gupta
(8) Shri D. M. Phatak
(9) Shri Balchandra Jain
(10) Shri P. V. Ranade
(11) Dr. A. K. Bhattacharya
(12) Dr. Moti Chandra
(13) Dr. H. V. Trivedi
(14) Dr. R. K. Dikshit
(15) Shri L. K. Tripathi
(16) Shri J. N. Tiwari
(17) Shri G. H. Khare
(18) Shri J.M. Nanavati
(19) Shri B. P. Dani
(20) Dr.R.K.Choudhary
(21) Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi
(22) Shri Vaishampayan

Before the normal business was taken up, the Meeting passed condolence resolutions on the sad death of John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, Shri Kannamwar, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Sardar K. M. Pannikar, Dr. R. K. Mookerji, Dr. Saletore, Dr. R. S. Tripathi, Shri Diskalkar, Shri J. M. Unvala, Shri Brij Mohan Vyas, Mr. A. W. Botham, Col. Rustam Merwan Khareghat, Dr. C. C. Dasgupta and Rai Bahadur Ghanshyamdas, and the members stood up to observe two minutes' silence.

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General Secretary's Report

The General Secretary then read a report on the activities of the Society for the years 1961-62 and 1962-63 as follows:

"Mr. President, and fellow members,

It is about two years since we met last at the time of the Golden Jubilee Conference of the Society at Varanasi and I propose to give you a brief review of the activities of the Society during this period. You will remember that at the time of the Golden Jubilee Conference of the Society, we had passed a resolution that a plan may be prepared

for the development of the Numismatic Society of India and the Governments may be approached to finance its implementation. I am happy to inform you that we have pursued this objective and taken steps to develop the Society in its varied aspects, as you will also notice it from my report.

ACTIVITIES

1. *Building of the Society*

The Altekar Memorial Building of the Society in the campus of the Banaras Hindu University was completed and the office and the Library of the Society were shifted to it. A Strong Room on the first filoor was also built for the safe-keeping of coins and other valuables. The building, at present, however, has only a ground floor which is insufficient, especially in view of our plans for the expansion and development of the Library and Museum of the Society. Steps therefore have to be taken to enlarge the building and add a first floor to it.

Some furniture for the building was acquired with the help of a donation of Rs. 3000/- from the Government of Maharashtra, but the building has yet to be fully equipped with furniture as well as other basic eequipments like racks, almirahs and similar necessities.

2. *Membership*

During the two years under review, the number of new members enrolled was as follows :

(i) Individual members— 34
(ii) Institutional members— 29
(iii) Life members— 4

Up-to-date, the membership of the Society stands as follows: Individual—245, Institutional—85 and Life—35, besides 3 Patrons, 4 Honorary Fellows and 1 Honorary Member, totalling 373 members. Efforts have to be made to enrol more members in the Seciety and for this, popularisation of interest in coins and study of numismatics is essential. There are still many individuals—students, scholars or persons cultivating coin-collection as hobby or as business—as well as many institutions like Museums, Schools and Colleges, Libraries or the other similar institutions, who may be brought within the fold of the membership of the Society, if adequate steps are taken to publicise the Society's activities, encourage coin-collection and popularise interest in numismatic studies and research.

Some welcome signs of interest in numismatics are already noticeable, considering frequent enquiries to us from Indians as well as foreigners, and demands for our membership list to develop contacts. With respect to the latter, incidentally, we propose to keep cyclostyled copies of our list of members and keep it up-to-date by six-monthly additions to it of fresh enrolments.

3. *Publications*

(i) The *JNSI* is printed yearly in two parts. Since the Golden Jubilee Volume (Vol. XXIII), the following volumes have been brought out:

Vol. XXIV, two parts together of 260 pages and XIV plates, and

Vol. XXV, part I, of 137 pages and XI plates.

The part II of Vol. XXV is also ready and will be issued after the Presidential Address and Proceedings are included in it. The articles contributed in the above volumes indicate that the contributors have been uniformly paying attention to the entire coin-series of India, from Punch-marked coins down to the coinage of the East India Company and Native states, embracing every aspect of numismatics, including mints and mint-operations, weight standards, medium of exchange, etc. Not only were there fresh interpretations of old coins but new coins from coin-cabinets of Indian and foreign museums, and new seals, were published and hoards of coins reported (A Hoard of Chola Silver Coins from Canara District by P. L. Gupta, Vol. XXIV; Eyyal Hoard of Silver Punch-marked and Roman Coins by N. G. Unnithan, Vol. XXV Part I).

(ii) The Supplement to the Bibliography of Indian Coins, Part II, which was in great demand, was prepared by Shri C. R. Singhal and revised by Dr. P. L. Gupta and the manuscript is ready to go for printing in January, 1964.

(iii) The Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 10 on Indian Numismatography is almost ready for issue.

4. *Gold Rules*

Under Defence of India Rules, 1962, Government of India promulgated Gold Rules under the provisions of which all individuals and institutions were required to declare the gold coins in their collections, no provision being made to exempt them from this obligation. This was immediately realised as a very serious handicap to the collection of gold coins and ultimately of great harm to the cause of numismatic studies in particular and historical studies in general. The Society took up the matter with the Ministry of Finance

and as a result of its efforts, although the obligation to declare stood as it was, the institutions were made free to acquire or dispose off gold coins or articles of gold of historical, archæological, cultural or artistic interest, and later, the facility was extended even to individuals to acquire or dispose off ancient gold coins after their bonafides were ascertained by Gold Board and necessary permission obtained from them.

The partial relaxation of the Rules, welcome though they are, are not wholly satisfactory inasmuch as members may still have to face considerable incovnenience to obtain the necessary permission. Moreover, the relaxation pertains only to gold coins etc. more than 100 years old. No exemption was granted for gold coins, muhars, medals issued during the last one hundred years.

The Society, therefore, feels that in the interest of numismatic studies and historical research and to prevent coins etc. of historical interest from being melted and thus lost to numismatic world for good, it is absolutely necessary that all collection of gold coins or other similar articles issued before 1947 is made entirely free from the operation of the Gold Rules. The fear of misuse of this privilege and smuggling of gold in India in the form of coins is practically non-existent.

Our case is built up entirely on this foundation, Gold coins of historical interest invariably fetch a price higher than their metal content and there is absolutely no inducement to acquire or hoarding, with a view to make a substantial gain at a later date. A bonafide numismatist will therefore never commit any irregularity as feared by the Government. A licensed jeweller at any time will only offer a price in consideration of the metal content of the coin, but Gold to a numismatist, such coin will fetch a price consistent with its historical value.

The risk of smuggling of gold coins into India is also practically non-existent. For one thing, the indigenous gold coins are entirely Indian in their origin and there is no chance of their being smuggled into India from outside. They are found either as heirlooms in old families or as treasure troves in the open fields, and they are sold in the market at prices higher than their metal value. So far as the foreign coins are concerned, even their chances of being smuggled in India are remote. No gold coins are current in any part of the world since 1935. Those coins, which were issued earlier, have now become rare and fetch mnch more value in their own country or elsewhere as coins than what smugglers get in this

country as the price of gold, the only exception being the British Sovereigns, that are sold in the country as bullion.

It should also be noted that in matter of coin-collection and enrichment of nnmismatic studies, individuals and institutions like museums etc. must be treated on par. If at all, individual scholars have done more for the cause of indian Numismatics than museums where coin-collections have been lying for decades without study, and in many cases, without a catalogue or even an inventory. Older numismntists like Nelson Wright, C. J. Rodgers and Bhagwanlal Indraji and more recent ones like late Dr. A. S. Altekar and Mm. V. V. Mirashi have made outstanding contributions to numismatics in their individual capacities.

It is understood that the Government of India have proposed to enact a permanent law on the control of gold and have brought a bill to this effect before the Parliament. So the Numismatic Society of India re-iterates its demand to completely exempt collection of gold coins and other similar articles of gold from the operation of Gold laws in the interest of numismatic studies, and will pass a resolution to that effect.

5. *Other Normal Activities*

Other normal activities of the Society e.g. to help the coin-collectors, students and teachers of numismatics all over India as well as numismatists from foreign countries in their enquiries, establishing contacts and exchange relations with numismatic societies of foreign countries, etc. continued. Our prompt attention has resulted in the increase of such enquiries during recent years, and we received many requests from Indians as well as foreigners in South Africa, Israel, Germany, Canada, United States for information about various Indian coin series, for help in coin collection and in developing contacts with our members for purposes of exchange of coins etc.

PLANS :

1. *Building the Societg as A Centre of Numismatic Studies*

Now that the Society has a permanent headquarter and a building of its own, we propose to reorganise the Society and build it as a centre of numismatic studies for imparting specialized training in numismatics and also for popularising knowledge of Indian coins and encouraging their collection and study in students of schools and college stage, and even in general public. There is no lack of enthusiasm and incentive in the latter as we have received enquiries in the past from schools and

similar institutions about the Society and its activities and about Indian coins.

Our plans clearly fall along two lines, one creating interest in numismatics, and the other providing facilities for higher studies and research. For both the purposes, and especially for the latter, it would be essential to develop the Library and the Museum of the Society.

(i) *General Training* : For creating general interest in numismatics, besides the development of an attractive Museum of the Society, containing original coins, seals etc., and electroplated specimens and plaster-casts of rare and important coins and acquisition of general books on numismatics in the Library, it would be necessary to organise lectures in schools and colleges and other public institutions, to lend electroplated specimens of coins and give plaster casts for close observation and familiarity and to exhibit film-shows on different coin series etc.

For the above, we will need a minimum staff and equipment to prepare electroplated specimens and plaster-casts, to prepare films and exhibit them. Society has no funds of its own for this purpose at present, but we may approach the Government for funds, and pending full development of our programme, we may for the time being, only prepare photographs, slides, purchase plaster-casts and electroplated specimens, request Audio-visual unit of Ministry of Education or Films Division, Government of India, to prepare films on different aspects of Indian coins for us and to lend us the equipment to exhibit them. Pending appointment of numismatists for public lectures, we may obtain, when required, services of eminent numismatists for the purpose.

(ii) *Specialised Training for Advanced Studies in Numismatics*: The primary requirement for this is the expansion and development of the Library of the Society and the development of Society's Museum, provision of facilities for using the two, organisation of learned seminars for discussions, and arrangement of research publications.

Library—The Society has got a small Library of its own, the nucleus of which is formed by the donation of some books and Journals by Rev. G.P. Taylor—one of the founder-members of the Society. Most of the accessions of the Library consist of Journals obtained in exchange of Society's own *Journal*. There is however big lacuna even in the collection of the Journals. Attempt has to be made to acquire as many of the old copies of important Journals as possible and, where necessary, pay for them. New Journals of general historical interest have also to be subscribed if they can not be obtained in exchange.

The Library is also greatly deficient in books of general historical and numismatic interest which have to be purchased.

At present the Library is housed in the small Hall of the Society's building. The same is also used as Reading Room. The space is quite insufficient for the two purposes. Moreover, the Library still remains to be furnished and fully equipped for proper use.

The Society has no funds to undertake the expansion and development of the Library. We have, however, prepared a plan with an estimated expenditure of Rs. 10,000/- for the first phase of its development and requested the Central Government and the Government of Maharashtra each to share 50% of it.

Museum—At present the Society has a very small coin-collection—Ramdulari collection—which was obtained as donation. This collection may be developed into a numismatic museum of the Society by acquiring more original coins and electroplated speciemens and plaster-casts of rare and important coins. The Society has already got a Strong Room where we can keep the coins safely. However, for this plan also, we do not have sufficient funds. We have prepared an initial plan with an estimated expenditure of Rs. 8,500/- and requested the Central Government to bear at least 50% of it.

Facilities for using the Library and the Museum—We plan to invite students and coin-collectors to come to us and study subjects of their interest. So also teachers ofnumismatics and scholars may be invited to avail themselves of these facilities provided by the Society. With the provision of a guest room in Society's building, the difficulties of lodging will also be solved to some extent.

Seminars—Organisation of seminars on different aspects of Indian numismatics will be an essential part of the specialized training. We have now reached a stage in the study of Indian numismatics when seminars have become almost imperative. Withevery year a large number of coins being discovered and fresh problems raised, such gatherings of eminent numismatists at one place to discuss various issues and assess the magnitude of agreement and disagreement and arrive at some concensus of opinion would not only be more expedient, specially now that the Society has a permanent headquarter of its own, but would also greatly further the cause of Indian numismatography and of Indian history and historiography. The plan we had prepared was to hold such seminars twice a year and publish the papers read along with the discussions. We had even requested the Central Government, who are taking keen

interest in the organisation of seminars, to give assistance to our project. We have, however, been informed that the Government will consider this matter only after the Seminar on the Miniature Indian Painting at Varanasi is over in September, 1964, when our suggestion will be placed on the agenda of the meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Museums. But in view of the importance and the imminent necessity of holding numismatic seminars, we might make a beginning by having two meetings of the Society in the year instead of one as has been the practice so far, the second to be held at Varanasi itself, devoted mainly to discussions in the nature of a seminar.

Publication Facilities—The *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* already provides an excellent medium for publication of research articles and discussions on controversial aspects of Indian numismatics. Besides, the Society also publishes the series of Numismatic Notes and monographs which are utilised by scholars for small, self-contained monographs on different aspects of Indian numismatics. We might take steps to develop both the *Journal* as well as the Monograph series and encourage more and more scholars to contribute to them. The Society may also undertake publication of large monographs but this can be done only when sufficient funds are available.

B. H. U. Diploma in Numismatics—In connection with the development of the Society as a centre of numismatic studies and research, it may be mentioned that the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archæology of the Banaras Hindu University, has introduced, for the first time in India, a Diploma course, of two years' duration, on Indian numismatics covering the entire range from the origin of coins in India to the British coinage and the coinage of the native States. The Society, with its facilities of Library and Museum, can play a vital role in giving assistance, both theoretical as well as practical, to the students of this Diploma and prepare able numismatists. We may approach the Hindu University authorities to recognise the Society as a centre of numismatic studies and collaborate with us in preparation of students for this Diploma.

2. *Publication of Corpus Numismatorum Indicarum*

The need for a Corpus of Indian Coins covering the history of the coinage in India from earliest times to the present day has been keenly felt for some years. There is a dearth of books for study and reference in the field of Indian numismatics at present. The old catalogues of Indian coins in the various

museums of India and abroad have been out of print for long and are not easily accessible. Moreover, published long ago, they have become out of date with the discovery of many new coins and hoards since then. The Society has therefore prepared a comprehensive plan of publication of *Corpus Numismatorum Indicarum* in ten volumes extending over the whole range. The publication of such a comprehensive and ambitious scheme naturally presupposes the utilisation of all the available talent but the Society is confident that it will receive the cooperation from scholars both in India and abroad.

From the financial point of view, the project is undoubtedly a costly one although there can not be two opinions about its worth. As it was beyond the means of the Society to undertake it, the plan was presented to the Central Government for financing it in entirety, or at least for meeting 50% of the estimated expenditure on it. The proposal is still under consideration of the Government. We have impressed upon the Government that we are treating the whole plan as one in itself and have prepared our estimate on yearly and monthly basis. The Governmet, of course, for its own convenience, may treat its assistance volume-wise. As soon as we have the assurance of the Government assistance, we will start the preparation of different volumes.

3. *Classification and Cataloguing of Coins in the various Museums in India*

It is a well known fact that coin-collections in various museums in India are lying uncatalogued. In most cases there is not even a proper classification of the coins or a usable inventory. Probably in several cases the coins are not even properly cleaned for identification. Thus the museums' collections are practically a closed book to Indian numismatists and there is virtual stagnation in this respect. The Society has therefore prepared a plan, in the first instance, of preparation of rough inventories of coins in the museums, their general classification and a brief information about them along with references to published catalogues where available. This work necessitates appointment of a permanent staff in the Society. For this also, as the Society has no funds of its own, the Government of India have been requested to give assistance. We hope that they will realise the importance of the project and take early decision to finance it.

Financial Position of the Society

While the responsibilities of the Society are increasing, its financial resources unhappily remain very unsatisfactory. The help from the subscription of members is very little since for

Rs. 12 as the annual subscription, the individual members, who are in majority, are entitled to get a free copy of the journal. It is really with some grant-in-aid from the Central and State Governments that the Society has been able to run its activities. But even these grants barely meet the expenditure on the routine activities of the Societies' publication of its *Journal* and running its office. Moreover, to several State Governments e.g. Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Madras, from whom we receive an annual grant of Rs. 300 each, we have to give 10 copies of the *Journal* free in return. As the price of the *Journal* is Rs. 25 per volume, the help from these States practically comes to nothing. We have repeatedly tried to impress this fact on the State Governments and apprised them of the growing activities of the Society and its future plans, but so far none of these Governments has raised its annual grant. We have to step up our efforts with the State Governments to appreciate the needs of the Society, and secure increased annual grants from them as well as assistance for specific projects on an *ad-hoc* basis. Moreover, there are several State Governments viz. Gujarat, Assam, Mysore, Kerala, Jammu & Kashmir, from whom we do not receive any aid. We have already writen to the Governors of these States, fully acquainting them with the Society—its activities, its proposed plans and programmes for the future—and requesting them for recurring as well as non-recurring aids. So far we have received the reply only from the Governments of Gujrat and Jammu & Kashmir that our requests are being considered. This matter has to be pursued. Officially we are doing our best to obtain the favour of the respective Governments, but our members also can extend to us their helping hand by making personal approaches to officials in the various Capitals. If the Society's activities are sufficiently publicised—and here too our members can play a vital role—we may also receive donations from private institutions, individuals, trusts, etc. We are determined to build up the Society as a great centre of numismatic studies and research, and we must be prepared for making every sacrifice for the purpose. We are introducing a resolution this year to increase the membership fee which, I hope, will meet the approval of all the members. We must remember that if we help ourselves, we will also receive help from other sources."

* * *

While the General Secretary was reading his report about the publication programmes of the Society, Dr. Moti Chandra stood up to give the suggestion that the Society should also try to publish translations of some very valuable articles on numis-

matics that are printed from time to time in various foreign journals. The Secretary and all the members present welcomed the suggestion.

* * *

After Secretary's report, the Meeting approved the audited statements of accounts of the Society for the years 1961-62 and 1962-63* as well as the estimated budget for the year 1964-65. The following explanations of the objections in the audited report for the year 1962-63 were also approved.

(a) A bearer cheque of Rs. 300/- (vide cheque No. 941022) was prepared for payment of contributors to *JNSI*, but as the Accountant went on leave, it could not be encashed till 4th April, 1963. Soon after the encashment, the amount was distributed to respective contributors.

(b) The excess salary of one month, paid to the Accountant as advance in a situation of urgent necessity, has since been recovered from him.

(c) A receipt for Rs. 43/50 as contribution charges has since been obtained from Shri Q. Ahmad.

Then the Office Bearers were elected as follows:

(1) President—Shri A. Ghosh (for the year 1964)
(2) Chairman—Shri P. J. Chinmulgund
(3) Vice-Chairman—Dr. M. Rama Rao
(4) General Secretary—Dr. A. K. Narain
(5) Assistant Secretary—Shri J. N. Tiwari
(6) Treasurer—Dr. Rai Govind Chandra.
(7) Chief Editor—Dr. A. K. Narain.
(8) Editors—
  (i) Dr. P. L. Gupta
  (ii) Shri B. C. Jain

The following were elected as members of the Executive Council:

(1) Sardar A. A. Chalukye Patil
(2) Dr. R. K. Dikshit
(3) Shri K. D. Bajpai
(4) Dr. P. L. Gupta
(5) Shri B. C. Jain
(6) Shri G. H. Khare

* The audited account for 1961-62 is already printed in Vol. XXIV of *JNSI*. That for 1962-63 is appended to the Proceedings.

(7) Shri J. M. Nanavati
(8) Dr. P. B. Desai

* * *

After the elections were over, the following rosolutions were passed at the Meeting :

Resolutions

1. Resolved that the Audited Accounts of the Society for the years 1961-62 and 1962-63 be passed.

2. Resolved that M/S Ghanshyam Das & Co., Chartered Accountant and Auditors, Varanasi, may continue as the Auditors of the Society on their fixed honorarium of Rs. 60/-.

3. Resolved that the Society may meet twice a year, instead of once as has been the practice so far, and the second meeting may be held at Varanasi, the permanent headquarters of the Society, to review the half-yearly progress and preferably to organise a seminar.

4. Reslved that a Research Assistant be appointed in the Numismatic Society of India for the time being on a fixed salary of Rs. 150/- p. m. pending availablity of funds.

5. Resolved that the Society accepts with thanks the temporary surrender of their honorarium by the Editors of the *Journal* of the Society in order to contribute towards payment of the salary to the Research Assistant.

6. Resolved that in view of the increasing work of the Assistant Secretary, an annual honorarium of Rs. 600/- from the year 1964 be paid to him.

7. Resolved that the subscription of individual membership of the Society be raised from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 per year, and of the institutional membership from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30, and the price of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* be also raised from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 per volume, in view of the rising cost of printing and paper.

8. Resolved that steps be taken to develop the Society as a centre of specialised training in numismatics and the Banaras Hindu University be approached to recognise the Society as a centre of numismatic studies and research.

9. Resolved that the Nelson Wright Bronze Medal of the Society for the year 1963 be awarded to Mr. C. H. Biddulph for his numerous and valuable contributions on Post-Muhammadan Coinage of India during the last three years.

10. Resolved that the Society may pursue the matter with the Government of India for the revision of Gold Rules and

try to obtain total exemption of gold coins, muhars, medals etc. issued before 1947, from their operation.

11. Resolved that steps be taken by the Society to secure the revision of the Treasure Trove Laws.

12. Resolved that the Government of India be requested to provide representation to the Society in the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology, the Central Advisory Board of Museums, the Central Advisory Board of Mints, and the Central Advisory Board of Education.

13. Resolved that steps be taken by the Society to impress on the Government that as the museums in India, though having rich collection of coins, have, with very few exceptions, no trained numismatics on their staff, steps be taken to appoint trained numismatists and also that the Society can give its help in preparation of inventories and catalogues of coins. The Government may also be approached to give grants for the appointment of two permanent numismatists in the Society, one for the early Indian coinage and the other for Muhammadan, whose services may be lent to the museums for the purpose.

14. Resolved that the Society's congratulations be conveyed to Dr. John Walker, Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, who was recently honoured with the C.B.E.

* * *

Several members had sent their papers to be read at the time of the conference. But as some of the authors could not be present at the time of the conference and some were busy in the meetings of the Indian History Congress which unfortunately had been concurrently arranged, their papers were taken to be read. Only Dr. A. K. Bhattacharya, Mrs. Sobhana Gokhale and Mr. P. V. Ranade read their papers in which members evinced keen interest and made useful comments. (All the papers received for the conference will be published in the *JNSI* after suitable editing where necessary.)

APPENDIX

Auditor's Report

The Secretary,
Numismatic Society of India,
B. H. U., Varanasi–5.

Dear Sir,

In terms of our seperate report we have examined the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st March 1963, and the annexed Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended from 1st April 1962 to 31st March 1963 of the Numismatic Society of India, B. H. U., Varanasi, with books and vouchers and beg to report that :—

(1) We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required.

(2) In our opinion, the annexed Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society, subject to the following irregularities :

(a) A sum of rupees 300/- withdrawn vide cheque No. 941022 dated 28.3.1963, for payment of contribution charges which was not paid till 31.3.63 has been included in Cash in hand, instead of debiting the same to proper head of account.

(b) Salary to staff has been paid for 13 months during this year, instead of 12 months. The excess of one month salary should be debited to the personal account of the staff and should be recovered.

(3) Amount paid to Sri Q. Ahmad for contribution charges amounting Rs. 43/50/- dated 28.3.1963, no receipt produced to us for our verification.

GHANSHYAM DAS & CO,
Chartered Accountants.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF

Balance Sheet as at

Figure of the previous Year		CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES				
Rs.	nP.		Rs.	nP.	Rs.	nP.
7,659	43	Special Publication Fund			7,659	43
35,095	53	Building Fund :	35,095	53		
		Addition during the year	96	00	35,191	53
		Sundry Advance			1	23
664	50	Sundry Liabilities to Editor's Honorarium Contribution Charges			848	00
531	00	Sundry Liabilities of Gupta Coins			531	00
680	00	Sundry Liabilities for Golden Jubilee Expenses			455	00
5,567	58	General Fund :	5,567	58		
		Add Excess of Income over Expenditure	8,281	53	13,849	11
50,198	04	Total ...			58,535	30

A. K. NARAIN
Secretary

R. G. CHANDRA
Treasurer

J. L. PANDEY
Accountant

INDIA, B. H. U., VARANASI.

31st March, 1963.

Figure of the previous Year Rs.	nP.	ASSETS AND PROPERTIES	Rs.	nP.	Rs.	nP.
34,171	00	Building			34,171	00
720	50	Medal (Dies) A/c			720	50
1,484	17	Furniture A/c:	1,484	17		
		Addition during the year	1,704	31		
			3,188	48		
		Less Depreciation for the year	150	00	3,038	48
		Loans & Advance:				
		Advance to Staff	25	00		
		Sundry Advance	85	27	110	27
287	16	Library (at cost)			287	16
7,000	00	Investment (at cost) National Saving Certificates			7,000	00
		Cash and Bank Balances:				
6,422	36	With State Bank of India Ltd., in C/A	12,764	90		
112	85	Cash in hand	442	99	13,207	89
50,198	04	Total ...			58,535	30

As per our separate report on that date.

Dated 4th July, 1963.
Varanasi.

GHANSHYAM DAS & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF

Income & Expenditure Account for

Figure of the previous year		EXPENDITURE				
Rs.	nP.		Rs.	nP.	Rs.	nP.
8,540	79	To Printing and Stationery			4,119	36
816	33	,, Contribution Charges			1,768	00
1,525	25	,, Postage & Telegrams			800	00
2,179	00	,, Salary & Allowance			2,682	00
51	25	,, Bank Commission			68	20
50	26	,, Sundry Expenses			110	84
41	91	,, Travelling and Conveyance			115	13
100	00	,, Auditor's Honorarium			200	00
600	00	,, Editors' Honorarium			1,900	00
300	25	,, Annual Conference Expenses			15	00
2	50	,, Telephone charges			...	
150	00	,, Packing charges			...	
719	90	,, Gold Medal			...	
14,244	32	,, Golden Jubilee Expenses			...	
94	50	,, Depreciation on Furniture			150	00
		,, Excess of Income over Expenditure			8,281	53
29,416	26	Total Rs.			20,210	06

A. K. NARAIN
Secretary.

R. G. CHANDRA
Treasurer.

J. L. PANDEY
Accountant.

INDIA, B.H.U., VARANASI.

the year ended 31st March, 1963.

Figure of the previous year Rs.	nP.	INCOME	Rs.	nP.	Rs.	nP.
2,538	83	By Sale of Publication			3,835	37
2,525	41	,, Subscriptions			2,023	21
157	00	,, Interest			...	
30	00	,, Advertisement			30	00
		,, Donations			1,000	00
250	00	,, Life Membership Subscriptions			500	00
		,, Golden Jubilee advance receipt			621	48
7,400	00	,, Government Grants :				
		Recurring :				
		Rajasthan Govt. 1961-62	300	00		
		Madhya Pradesh Govt. 1961-62	300	00		
		Madras Govt. 1961-62	300	00		
		Bombay Govt. 1962-63	1,000	00		
		Central Govt. 1962-63	4,000	00		
		Behar Govt. 1962-63	300	00		
		U. P. Govt. 1962-63	500	00		
		Non-Recurring :				
		Central Govt. 1962-63	2,500	00		
		Bombay Govt. 1962-63	3,000	00	12,200	00
16,515	02	,, Excess of Expenditure over Income			...	
29,416	26	Total Rs.			20,210	66

As per our separate report on that date.

Dated 4th July, 1963.
Varanasi.

GHANSHYAM DAS & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.

Advertisement.

WANTED TO BUY

— Urgent —

Coins upto 100 Pieces of 19th & 20th Centuary.

PARTICULARLY WANTED

Indian States :

ALWAR	1 Rupee.
BHAWALPUR	Any Copper & Silver.
BARODA	Any Copper & Silver.
BHUTAN	Silver $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee.
BIKANER	Any Copper & Silver.
DEWAS S.B. & J.B.	Copper 1/12 Anna, $\frac{1}{2}$ Pice, $\frac{1}{4}$ Anna.
DHAR STATE	1/12 Anna, $\frac{1}{2}$ Pice, $\frac{1}{4}$ Anna.
INDORE	Shivajirao Silver 1 Rupee.
JAIPUR	Nazari Copper $\frac{1}{2}$ Paisa & 2 Annas Brass (Square).
JAORA STATE	1 Paisa, 2 Paisa Copper.
KUTCH	Edward VIII only, 3 Dokda Copper, Silver $2\frac{1}{2}$ Kori, & Jai Hind 1 Kori & 5 Kori.
SAILANA	King Edward VII & King George V—$\frac{1}{4}$ Anna.

Foreign :

AFGHANISTAN	$2\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees, 5 Rupees & $2\frac{1}{4}$ Afghani Silver.
ETHIOPIA	Silver—All Value.
BURMA	Silver 1 Rupee Peacock.
COMORO ISLAND	Bronze & Silver 5 Francs.
GERMAN EAST AFRICA	Copper, Bronze, & Silver.
ITALIAN SOMALILAND	Any Copper & Silver.
MOMBASA	Any Copper & Silver.
MUSCAT	Any.
PORTUGAL	1000 Reis only.
SAUDI ARABIA	Large Size 1 Ryal.
ZANZIBAR	Any Copper & Silver.

WRITE TODAY

STATE QUANTITY, PRICE, AND CONDITION

C. M. DESAI

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LIFE MEMBER :

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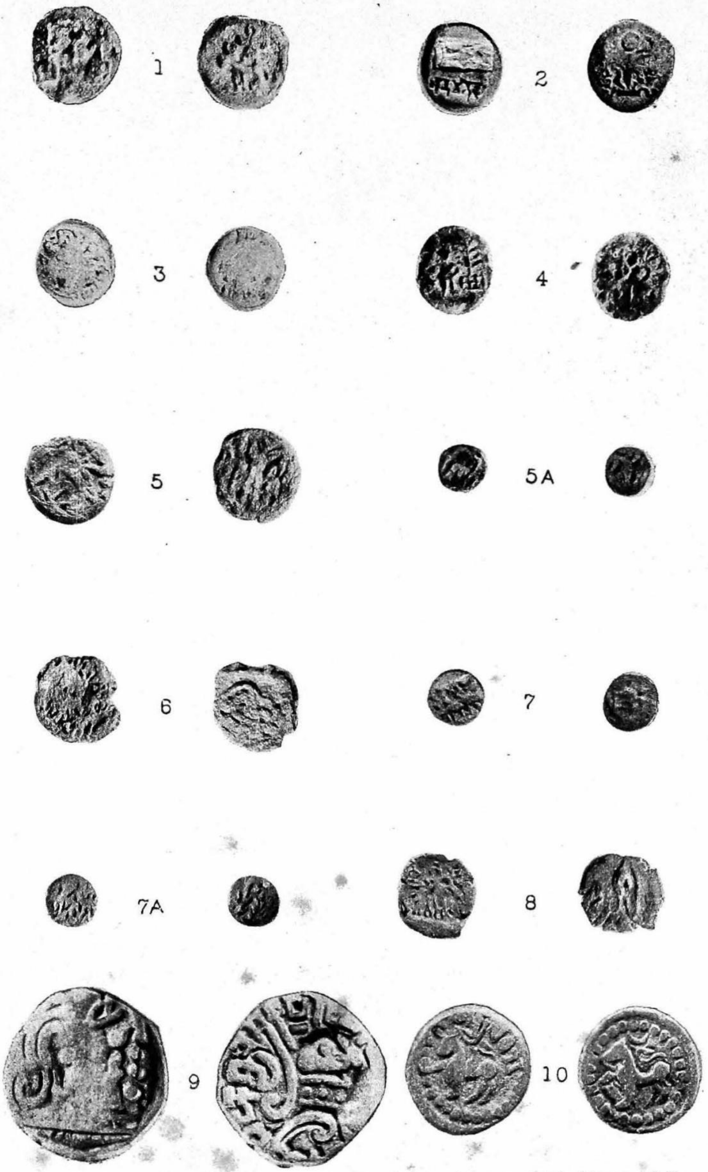
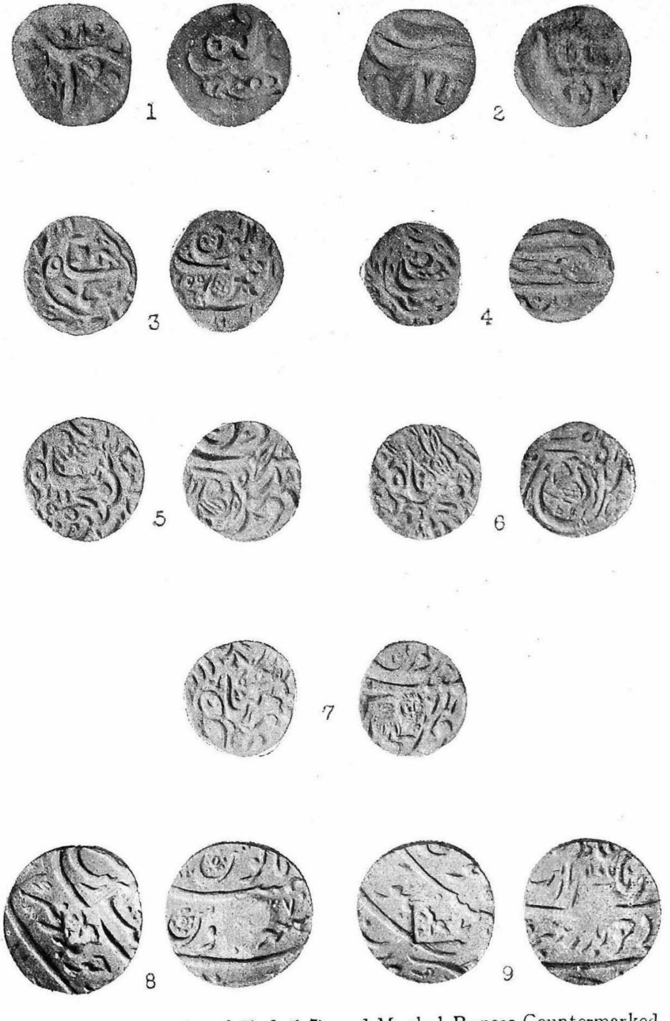


Some Rare Copper Coins from Kauśāmbī (1, 3-6, 8) and Ahichchhatra (2,7); A Kṛishṇarāja-rūpaka (9); and A Copper Coin of Aṁśuvarman (10)

Countermarked Darrani and Sikh Coins



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All the matter for publication should be neatly typed on one side of the paper, with proper diacritical marks for the transliteration of Sanskrit and Persian words, for which the following system should be followed :

ऋ ṛi ; ङ् ṅ ; च् ch, छ् chh, ञ् ñ, ण् ṇ, श् ś, ष् sh.

; ḍ ڈ ; d د ; kh خ ; ḥ ح ; ch چ ; j ج ; th ث ; ṭ ٹ ; t ت ; p پ ; b ب ; a ا

;a' ع ; .. ظ ; ṭ ط ; z ض ; ṣ ص ; sh ش ; s س ; zh ژ ; z ز ; ṛ ڑ ; r ر ; z ذ

.y ی ; h ہ ; w و ; n ن ; m م ; l ل ; g گ ; k ک ; q ق ; f ف ; gh غ

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